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Margaret Thatcher was in a buoyant mood at Conservative headquarters on election night.

## 5-Year Term Appears Likely Mrs. Thatcher Is Prime Minister With 43-Seat Commons Majority

### Europeans Expecting Policy Shift

By Paul Lewis

BRUSSELS, May 4 (NYT) — The Conservative Party's victory in yesterday's British general election is likely to lead to a far-reaching shift in policy within Western Europe that will have important implications for the United States, according to diplomatic sources here.

After nearly five years during which Britain's relations with its European partners have grown steadily more strained under the outgoing Labor administration, diplomats and officials expect that Margaret Thatcher's government will try to play a more active and constructive role in the Continent's affairs.

The Conservatives will remain as committed as Labor to securing important changes in policies of the European Economic Community that they feel are contrary to British interests. But they are likely to approach these negotiations in a more friendly spirit and end the bitter public quarrel over farm prices, fish, energy and monetary affairs which virtually paralyzed the community during Labor's last few months in office.

More significantly, many diplomats predict that an improvement in the tone of Britain's relations with Europe will in time lead a Conservative government to become the third member of the present informal French-German alliance, which effectively dominates European political affairs.

#### Mechanism Exists

The mechanism for creating such an informal tripartite alliance already exists through a system of regular meetings between the three leaders. "All they need is the political will to make the machinery work," a diplomat said. But it is one of the paradoxes of British politics that while the Labor party tends to be pro-American and hostile to European entanglements, the Conservatives are more resentful of American political aims.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)



In British headlines, the Conservative victory was portrayed as a personal triumph for the party's leader, Margaret Thatcher.

### Champion of Individualism The Thatcher Credo: 'Free Choice' Is All

By William Borders

LONDON, May 4 (NYT) — To Margaret Thatcher, "free choice" is ultimately what life is about, and she likes to illustrate what she means in political terms with this example: "If somebody comes to me and asks, 'What are you going to do for us small businessmen?' I say, the only thing I'm going to do for you is make you free to do things for yourselves. If you can't do it then, I'm sorry. I'll have nothing to offer you."

Judging by what she has been saying over the years, in public and in private, that is the center of Mrs. Thatcher's political philosophy — what she calls "a positive creed, to promote, not destroy, the uniqueness of the individual."

In the election campaign, Mrs. Thatcher sketched a vision of a Britain that would be rebuilt on the strong base of that kind of individualism to the economic strength it used to know, "so that once again the products stream from our factories and workshops while the customers of the world scramble over each other to buy them." She also promised a government that "would stop trying to step in and take decisions for you that you should be free to take on your own."

Now the British, having chosen the first woman to head a modern European government, will have a chance to put to a practical test what she terms the genuine conservatism that she has been offering them.

In the four years since becoming

### Callaghan Resigns, Hails First Woman in Office

By R.W. Apple Jr.

LONDON, May 4 (NYT) — Margaret Thatcher, the daughter of a small-town grocer, took office today as prime minister of Britain, heir to the tradition of Gladstone and Disraeli and Churchill, and the first woman elected to lead a European nation.

Mrs. Thatcher and the Conservative Party swept to a solid victory in yesterday's general election, piling up an overall majority of 43 seats in the House of Commons and dooming the Labor government of James Callaghan. Early this afternoon, Mr. Callaghan submitted his resignation to Queen Elizabeth II. A few minutes later, Mrs. Thatcher agreed to the queen's request that she form a government, then went directly to No. 10 Downing St. to begin work, pausing on the doorstep to recall these words of St. Francis of Assisi: "Where there is discord, may we bring harmony. Where there is error, may we bring truth. Where there is doubt, may we bring faith. Where there is despair, may we bring hope."

The quotation was politically apt, because those who voted Mrs. Thatcher into office look to her to correct what they see as the errors and the excesses of socialism, and those who opposed her see her as a sower of discord. As soon as a trend was established early this morning, trade-union leaders began warning of a possible confrontation over restrictive new laws and cuts in job subsidies.

It was a day of high political drama, partly because of the novelty of a woman prime minister and partly because of her pledges to set Britain on a new course by cutting income taxes, scaling down social services and reducing the role of the state in daily life.

Although Mrs. Thatcher won a



James Callaghan

### The Election Returns

LONDON, May 4 (AP) — Returns from all 635 Parliamentary districts with changes in seats:

Labor	268	Gain: 11	Loss: 51
Conservative	339	Gain: 61	Loss: 6
Liberal	11	Gain: 0	Loss: 3
Scottish Nationalist	2	Gain: 0	Loss: 9
Plaid Cymru	2	Gain: 0	Loss: 1
Ind.	1	Gain: 0	Loss: 0
The Speaker	1	Gain: 0	Loss: 0
Social Democrat/Labor Party	1	Gain: 0	Loss: 0
Ulster Unionist	10	Gain: 2	Loss: 2

POPULAR VOTE	
Labor	11,509,524 (36.9 Percent)
Conservatives	13,697,753 (43.9 Percent)
Liberal	4,313,931 (13.8 Percent)
Others	1,699,582 (5.4 Percent)

In the Oct. 1974 general election, final returns gave Labor 39.3 percent of the votes cast, Conservatives 35.7, Liberals 18.3, and others 6.7.

### Replying to Egypt on Sinai 'Precedent'

### Israel Affirms Limits to Mideast Pullback

From Agency Dispatches

JERUSALEM, May 4 — Israel served notice to Egypt today that the Camp David accords do not obligate it to withdraw from the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, and said its army will remain in "defined security locations" there.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman was reacting to a statement by Cairo yesterday that said Israel's agreement to total withdrawal from the Sinai under the recently signed peace treaty is a precedent applicable to other occupied Arab lands.

"There is no foundation to a reported Egyptian Foreign Ministry statement to the effect that the Camp David agreements obligate Israel to evacuate Judea, Samaria [the West Bank], the Gaza district and the Golan Heights," the spokesman said.

"The opposite is the case," he said. "The negotiations on determining the border between Israel and Syria should be conducted between these two states only."

Prime Minister Menachem Begin said Wednesday that Israel would insist on retaining the Golan Heights even if Syria proposes a peace agreement, because "there is no peace without security."

The spokesman said it was agreed at the September Camp David, Md., summit that the Israeli Army would remain in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip even after the implementation of local Arab autonomy.

"While there will be a certain withdrawal of the Israeli Army from these areas, it was explicitly decided that there will be a redeployment of the army in defined security locations in Judea, Samaria and Gaza," the spokesman said.

Egypt, meanwhile, called for an Islamic summit meeting to discuss means of regaining the Arab sector of Jerusalem, which was annexed by Israel after the Six-Day War in 1967.

In a statement issued today by the Foreign Ministry, Egypt said it would attend the conference of foreign ministers of 43 Islamic countries in Morocco Tuesday on the condition that they discuss plans for a summit to deal with the Jerusalem issue.

#### Eight Arabs Arrested

TEL AVIV, May 4 (UPI) — Eight Israeli Arabs have been detained in the breakup of one of the biggest suspected Palestinian guerrilla networks operating within Israel, police said today.

They have been accused of conspiracy to murder and membership in the al-Fatah guerrilla organization. All are from northern Israel.

## U.S. Report on Guyana Tragedy Accuses State Dept. of Lapses

By Graham Hovey

WASHINGTON, May 4 (NYT) — A government report on the Jonestown tragedy in Guyana charges the State Department with "serious lapses" in handling and evaluating information about the people's Temple before the murders and mass suicide of last November.

The report emphasizes, however, that officials of both the State Department and the U.S. Embassy in Georgetown, Guyana, felt that they were bound by severe legal and other restraints that prevented them from probing deeply into conditions at the Jonestown settlement.

More than 900 members of the religious-political community either committed suicide or were murdered after the killing at a nearby island of Rep. Leo Ryan, D-Calif., who had gone there to investigate the People's Temple, and of other persons accompanying him.

Commissioned by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and made public yesterday, the study was carried out by two retired Foreign Service officers, John C. Crimmins and Stanley J. Stein.

Beginning a year ago, the report said, there were frequent examples of State Department indifference to misreading of information arising of impending disaster in Jonestown and a breakdown in communication within the department and between it and the embassy in Guyana.

Request Scrapped

"The single most important substantive failure" of the department at the embassy, it said, was the rapping of an embassy request at June for permission to ask the Guyanese government to tighten its control over Jonestown to check on alleged abuses there.

Ambassador John Burke drafted a telegram containing the request and telephoned the State Department's desk officer for Guyana, King that it be given careful consideration. Instead, a negative reply is drafted in the Bureau of Consular Affairs and was never cleared by the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, which has political jurisdiction over Guyana.

It was clear, the report said, that it was a consular and legal officers who drafted the message rejecting the ambassador's request "had not the slightest notion of what lay behind the embassy's telegram or what the embassy in its exquisitely careful way was trying to say."

The report also blamed Mr. Burke for not persisting in his quest.

The report accused the State Department of "extremely inefficient handling" of a petition to Mr. Jones last May by 57 persons and 11 of Jonestown members. It urged "careless and casual processing" of information from a Temple defector, Deborah Blakey.

In the petition, Timothy Stoen, a Temple defector who was in custody of his son from the founder of the movement, the Rev. Jim Jones, told Mr. Vance, "I wish there were some

documentary evidence that the movement was a cult, that it was a threat to the lives of its members, that it was a threat to the lives of the people of Guyana, that it was a threat to the lives of the people of the United States, that it was a threat to the lives of the people of the world."

The premier said that the much-criticized committees, Islamic courts

### But Some Offenses 'Unpardonable'

## Bazargan Says Limited Amnesty Planned

By William Branigin

TEHRAN, May 4 (WP) — Premier Mehdi Bazargan said yesterday that Iran's secretive Revolutionary Council was preparing a limited amnesty for officials and supporters of the deposed shah, but that the plan would not benefit those who committed "unpardonable crimes."

Mr. Bazargan said in an interview that it was up to the council to define such crimes, but that they probably would include ordering or participating in "massacres of the people, torture of prisoners, treason, corruption and theft of public property."

He said that the amnesty, subject to approval by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, would affect those, for example, who held government positions under Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi or belonged to the shah's political party.

Mr. Bazargan said that his recent appeal for an end to Iran's "spirit of revenge" had paved the way for the amnesty declaration. But he said that the amnesty would be "obviously restricted" and that there was "still more work to do to appease the spirit of hate and popular vengeance" in Iran.

"The Revolutionary Council will continue to operate," Mr. Bazargan said, until power is transferred to a permanent government following the ratification of a new Islamic republic constitution and the election of a national assembly and president. Until then, he said, the council will carry out the functions of a parliament.

However, critics have accused the shadowy council — which answers only to Ayatollah Khomeini — of playing a much greater role than a provisional parliament and of dominating the government.

Calling the Revolutionary Council "an institution that on the whole is legal, essential and fundamental" to the government, Mr. Bazargan said that it would be replaced by an elected parliament upon the installation of a permanent government. When this could be expected to happen was not made clear.

The premier said that the much-criticized committees, Islamic courts

## Vietnam-Refugee High Tide Hits Neighboring Shores

By Henry Kamn

SONGKLA, Thailand, May 4 (NYT) — Refugees from Vietnam are arriving on Southeast Asian shores in record numbers despite repeated denials by Hanoi that it is abetting the outflow of ethnic Chinese, who comprise an estimated three-quarters of the refugee total.

The exodus is also continuing in contradiction of an agreement reached last March between Vietnam and the UN high commissioner for refugees, under which Hanoi undertook to facilitate legal emigration in order to stop the illegal flow.

That flow, under which the refugees leave without assured havens awaiting them, endangers the lives of the "boat people" and poses mounting political strains on non-Communist Asian countries and their relations with Western nations, to whom they look for relief from the refugee burden.

In addition to the exodus of Chinese, at which the Hanoi government is by all accounts complicit, the continuing war with Cambodia and tension with China add to the political, economic and ethnic pressures that have caused hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese to leave their country secretly since the Communist victory in 1975.

Later this month, the Southeast Asian nations that receive most of the refugee boats will meet in Jakarta, Indonesia, with the UN refugee agency and with representatives of the United States and other countries to which Asia looks for a permanent solution.

Vietnam is also expected to attend, no doubt to reply to complaints that it is violating its promises to reduce the number of refugees, from whom it exacts large sums of money to allow them to leave for countries that do not want them, and to answer questions on why its agreement with the UN commissioner has not reduced the exodus.

### Hanoi Continues to Deny Abetting Massive Outflow of Ethnic Chinese

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Only last week in Hanoi, in the presence of UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Premier Pham Van Dong reiterated his earlier promises not to cause a burden on Vietnam's neighbors through a heavy refugee flow.

But preliminary statistics show that April far surpassed expected refugee totals. More than 2,000 Vietnamese boat people reached Thailand, the largest monthly total ever. In Malaysia, after three months of relative decline, there were more than 10,000 refugees.

About 100,000 Vietnamese now wait in limbo on land and on ships that no one wants to allow ashore, together with more than 150,000 Laotian and Cambodian refugees who have stolen into Thailand and

fueled by letters from refugees who have made it and by foreign broadcasts, Malaysia is depicted as the best place to go. One reason is the mistaken assumption that departure for permanent asylum is quicker from Malaysia. A more justified reason is the prevalence of pirates in Thai waters.

Wristwatches are rare among the refugees here, and women's jewelry even rarer. In addition, the pirates also harvest most of the slim tablets of gold, worth about \$250, that traditionally constitute Vietnamese family savings. Most of the refugee boats have been robbed more than once as they approached Thailand.

The consensus of the refugees here, who include a number of well educated and politically sophisticated people, is that the exodus will continue at a high rate and will continue to be abetted by Hanoi for Vietnamese of Chinese origin, who make up two-thirds to three-quarters of the flow. Ethnic Vietnamese will continue to make their escapes at great risk and in defiance of the government.

A highly educated refugee from southernmost Vietnam said that he had seen 12 to 15 boats under construction near his town's marketplace; the boats are generally believed to be for the transport of government-authorized refugees.

The boats are being equipped with portholes, indicating that they are meant for passengers rather than freight, said a man, who for 10 years worked with U.S. In the Vietnamese grapevine (mainly

An indication of the fact that the flow again is exceeding expectations can be seen in the camp for boat people near this southern Thai town. Moved earlier this year to a larger site, its inhabitants have already had to build new shanties because of a quadrupling of the population to 4,000.

The great majority of refugees from Vietnam head for Malaysia, where nearly 60,000 wait in badly overcrowded island camps for countries to offer them asylum. Those who reach Thailand usually do so because of errors in navigation or mechanical troubles — or because pirates who towed them in this direction after robbing them and often raping the women.

In the Vietnamese grapevine (mainly

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)



## Movement Within Apartheid

The South African government has accepted, in principle, proposals to give its blacks a better role in the economy of this sharply segregated nation. And that constitutes movement within apartheid, in the area where such movement could be very significant.

For by admitting some blacks to unions and proposing for them equal pay with whites for equal work, the leaders of South Africa's ruling party have acted to change the nation's most significant resource. True, South Africa has gold and diamonds, but its greatest source of present wealth are the millions of underpaid and unorganized blacks. Moreover, as many industrialized countries have demonstrated, unions can be more effective than political parties in determining such matters as costs, profits and the distribution of wealth. They can also be powerful in politics. Union membership could be more useful to South Africa's blacks than the vote.

The action which the South African government plans to take has a rather special interest for the United States. The chief current subject of demonstrations in U.S. universities is the effort to get them to divest their endowments of securities of corporations associated with South Africa. Opponents of this drive assert that U.S. companies have been working to improve conditions for the blacks — and some of those companies

seem in fact to have led the way toward the present stand of the government.

This will not satisfy the supporters of equality in South Africa — neither, for that matter, will the government program satisfy the blacks of South Africa and its neighbors, nor those outside Africa who hope to see true majority rule there. Not only is this "new dispensation" in the labor history of South Africa called it, confined to labor. Even there it is limited: white unions might remain white, boxing in a large number of skilled jobs. More importantly, about a third of the black working force, drawn from neighboring black states and tribal areas (which are, in effect, South Africa's reservations) are excluded from the impending legislation.

Thus for many, in and out of South Africa, this lowering of the apartheid barriers is too little — and in practical terms it may well be too late. With Africa so largely free from European domination and the urge for majority rule still cresting (even if that majority may itself supply autocrats), it cannot be expected that this "new dispensation" will really ease the strain on South Africa. Indeed, it may increase it. But what can be said in favor of the move is that it is at least in the right direction; that it represents a measure of justice in a land where justice for the blacks is very rare.

## Pingpong in Pyongyang

The presence of a U.S. team at the world table-tennis matches in Pyongyang, North Korea, suggests a replay of the "pingpong diplomacy" that culminated in the normalization of relations between the United States and China. But it isn't that way at all. North Korea invited the U.S. team, and since the Carter administration had abandoned the controls formerly imposed on private travel to countries with which the United States has no ties, the U.S. players were free to go. They went. Cravenly, the International Tennis Federation did not demand that North Korea invite all members. South Korea was excluded by political chicanery and Israel on the specious grounds that North Korea, perhaps the world's tightest police state, could not ensure the team's security.

Pictures of U.S. and North Korean players embracing each other after a match have been circulated. Again, the impression is misleading. No warmth exists, or seems likely to, soon, in U.S.-North Korean relations. Washington has long refused to undercut its South Korean ally and deal directly with its North Korean adversary; it wants the South Koreans to be in on any talks. The two Koreans have recently made an attempt, not their first, at "dialogue," and it has gotten nowhere. Jimmy Carter, during his campaign, suggested the time was ripe for a unilateral withdrawal of the 44,000 U.S. ground troops that have been in South Korea since the armistice of 1953, and this caused a major stir. Wisely, he later found cause — partly in new estimates of North Korean strength — to suspend the withdrawal. It is one of the questions he will look into when he visits Seoul next month. Human rights is another.

Yet a third false impression — of North Korean humanitarianism — was conveyed by news reports of the reuniting of the U.S. team's North Korea-born interpreter with his mother in Pyongyang; he had fled south in the Korean war and they had not seen each other in 29 years. This may have been only the second time North Korea has allowed one of its citizens even a momentary encounter with a relative who fled south. To appreciate this, it helps to keep in mind that literally millions of Koreans belong to families separated by the 38th parallel.

South Korea has given top priority to negotiating family reunions, starting with the sharing of family information and the opening of mail and phone links. North Korea, in two or three meetings, has not given in an inch in the matter. In this fundamental sense, it is the cruelest country in the world.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Mr. Nice Guy

The way it was agreed in 1972, the Russians would move into their new embassy in Washington at the same time the Americans moved into their new embassy in Moscow. Otherwise, the Soviet Union would get quick action out of private U.S. contractors and the United States would have no leverage in dealing with the Soviet government's construction monopoly. The pros recognized that as the kind of toughness needed to negotiate successfully with the Kremlin.

So what happened? Well, the Russians wrote up their building plans promptly and had them promptly cleared in Washington. The Americans dragged on their plans and then got into a protracted dispute on the building contract. Let us start building, the Russian side then said. Fine, said the new Carter administration team, playing Mr. Nice Guy, but do provide us certain other interim facilities. The Russians built. But, for a year or more, they did not provide the extra facilities. And they still have not made it possible for a contract on the new U.S. embassy to be drawn. So it is that the Russians have

now completed six apartment buildings and more in Washington and are clamoring to move their people in, and the Americans have not turned the first spade of dirt in Moscow.

It is a painful spectacle and, especially if the United States does not play it right from this point onward, it will make many Americans ask if the Carter administration is negotiating on SALT any more effectively than it has on the embassies. The Russians have behaved like Russians, turning U.S. impatience and good will to their own advantage, exploiting every comma, frustrating and stinging their negotiating partners. But have the Americans behaved like... Americans?

The Carter administration's decision to let the Russians start building first looks pathetic in retrospect. If the administration were to be equally "reasonable" now and to heed Soviet pleas to allow the new premises to be occupied, it would have only itself to blame for the inevitable adverse effect on its effort to get approval for other deals it makes with the Russians.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## International Opinion

### OPEC-Oil Firms Struggle

A power struggle between the OPEC countries and the international oil companies is emerging and its consequences cannot as yet be foreseen. But it is much easier to forecast the results of the latest OPEC power demonstration on the world's economy, particularly since these results will be more immediate. It may be assumed that inflation and its concomitant balance-of-payment problems will be intensified and that worldwide growth

prospects will be clouded. There will also be reactions on the currency markets — an area in which OPEC should in fact be interested in maintaining stability. The need to achieve oil savings in the U.S.A. becomes at once more urgent and more difficult to translate into action as the gap between present American and new world prices grows. But if American imports are not slowed down, there seems little prospect of the world being able to shake off its OPEC leading-strings.

—From the Neue Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich).

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

May 5, 1904

TOKYO — Yesterday afternoon during a dense fog the Japanese navy successfully blocked Port Arthur by sinking nine merchantmen at the entrance, which is now absolutely sealed. The Japanese fleet, in effecting the blocking, steamed into the entrance at full speed. The Japanese naval officers, having made two previous unsuccessful attempts, begged permission to carry out the next attack in daylight, that being easier, and their request was granted. It was decided to lose half their men if necessary. The number of casualties has not yet been reported.

### Fifty Years Ago

May 5, 1929

CHICAGO — His face as red as the red in the British flag which bedecked the platform of Chicago's Aldermanic Chamber, and his ears burning hot to the tune of "God Save the King," Mayor (Big Bill) Thompson last night found himself acting as host to 160 members of the British Commonwealth — the Australian Boys' Band now on a tour of the United States — whose king he once threatened to "crack on the snout." Mayor Thompson is a leader of the "America First" movement. He finally left the chamber, to poorly concealed laughter and snickers from the audience.



## The Quiet Voice of Vance

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Cyrus Vance made a quiet and thoughtful speech in Chicago the other day that deserves still more attention. Nothing unusual about this: For almost a generation in Washington, louder and more dramatic voices have overwhelmed Mr. Vance's muted common sense, but he endures.

His theme in Chicago before the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges was that we are living in one of the most creative periods of U.S. history in the world and don't know it; that we are leading and influencing the revolutionary changes in the world and don't like it; that we are also talking nonsense about the "weakness" and even the "decline" of our country in a way that "is not only wrong but dangerous as a basis for policy."

Mr. Vance has studied the arts of understatement almost to the point of personal invisibility, but in the last couple of years, he has struggled through all the agonies of Middle East diplomacy, the mystifying controversies of arms control with the Russians, and the politics of all this and more on Capitol Hill. And he finally seems, at 62, to be speaking out from the spirit of his own character.

### Invented Change

He is obviously not unconcerned about the rise of Soviet power, or the liberation of new nations, or the spectacular changes in the modern political world. But in his view, the United States invented change, celebrated the freedom and self-determination of peoples and should watch but not fear the rise of new centers of power.

"I know of no responsible military official," he said in Chicago, "who would exchange our strategic position for that of any other nation."

We are not blind, he insists, to the rising military technological and political competition of other nations. There are deep philosophical differences about the organization of the world, but, he adds, we should not fear, but in our own tradition, even welcome, these conflicts.

We have friendly neighbors on our borders, he points out. Strong and reliable allies more than double our own military strength — a domestic but dubious point — and our economy and those of our allies are three times as productive as the Russians and their troubled satellites in Eastern Europe. Our computer technology stuns the Communist world, and our free way of life has a "magnetic appeal" for other peoples, even while it baffles the peoples of the West.

Mr. Vance is particularly effective in arguing the unpopular thesis that the United States can no longer impose its will on the world. The time of our superiority in nuclear weapons is gone. It may be regrettable, he observes, but it is a fact that we have to adjust to a different world in which other nations have nuclear weapons and economic power comparable if not quite equal to our own.

### Military Power

"As more nations acquire more sophisticated arms," Mr. Vance said, "regional conflicts become more dangerous. They pose a constant threat of wider confrontation. As a result, the United States must be more active in working to help settle these disputes peacefully."

Accordingly, Mr. Vance insisted, military power, while necessary, could not resolve the foreign policy

problems of the United States. They had to be handled by diplomatic, economic and financial means as well, many of them beyond our control, but hopefully within our reach.

"Many of these conflicts," Mr. Vance said, "are long-standing. They have roots deep in history, in geography, in religious and ethnic differences."

No other nation could have played the role that the United States has played in helping Israel and Egypt achieve an historic peace treaty.

In South Africa, in the eastern Mediterranean, in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world, we are using the influence we have for peace. There will be setbacks, for the path to peace is often more difficult than the road to war. But with persistence and steadiness, we can help provide the parties to conflict with an alternative to violence — if they choose to take it.

### Ignored

There are no splashy headlines in all this, and outside of one or two newspapers, Mr. Vance's speech was ignored. Yet it would probably be a mistake to underestimate the influence of the quiet integrity of this man in the great decisions of foreign policy in the coming year.

Precisely because he is quiet, careful, precise, courteous and respectful of people who oppose his views, Mr. Vance commands the confidence not only of the president but of the leaders of the Congress and the people he has to face in negotiations with other nations.

And he has other imperiousness on his side. He has no personal ambitions. Home holds no terrors for Mr. Vance. If they don't like him here he can go away. He may not have any great conception of strategy for U.S. foreign policy, but he does have a feeling for the deeper tendencies of history, an unshakable conviction of the honorable objectives of his country, and — unusual in this city — a conviction

that his own personal beliefs in fairness, justice, and even self-criticism should always influence his work.

In this cynical age, this may seem irrelevant, particularly in Washington, but it is precisely because of these qualities that Mr. Vance is effective in his relations here. It's too bad that his Chicago speech was not given more attention, for it comes closer to a definition of his philosophy and character than anything else he has said in public since he became secretary of state.

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## Letters

### Big Handouts

Ever since the days of President Johnson's Great Society, Washington has had the reputation of a spendthrift sliding ever deeper into debt. No doubt the reputation is largely deserved. But not entirely. If Washington stopped its handouts to state and local governments, the notorious federal deficit would be replaced by a substantial surplus. California alone gets about \$8 billion a year in federal aid.

This broader viewpoint suggests that it's really the state and local governments which are living beyond their means, enjoying a ride financed by federal AA-rated bonds.

W.R. MILLER.

Vevey, Switzerland.

### Clean Energy

Re "Nuclear Irony and Tragedy" by Tom Wicker (HT, April 9). The United States needs energy produced by nuclear fission as much as it needs the nuclear waste generated.

Nuclear power is costly. Nuclear plants are outrageously expensive to build, to operate, and maintain. It is costly to dispose of the wastes. Most importantly, the grave danger to which nuclear plants expose us is beyond economic measure.

A drastic change in priorities is needed if we are to overcome the energy problem facing us. Research, development, and wider

use of clean energy are steps in the right direction. Money currently allocated to clean-energy research is minuscule compared to what is spent on nuclear energy. The benefits that can be derived from the use of clean energy now outweigh cost considerations. The amount of money spent stays in the United States, and importation of foreign oil decreases.

Abandoning special interests, approaching the technological obstacles to clean energy in a comprehensive manner (similar to the space program of the 1960s) and encouraging the use of alternate energy sources is the necessary direction.

The outcome will create jobs as a result of new technologies and its associated industry. It will lower trade deficits, mean a stronger economy and the preservation of our environment.

MILTON SANCHEZ-PARODI, Granada.

### Watch on the Nile

It was delightful to read the article about Om Seti (HT, April 26). I had the pleasure of chatting with her one morning recently in Abydos. As I was leaving her garden she commented, "Sometimes I wake up in the morning and can't remember whether it's B.C. or A.D."

LAWRENCE LACINA.

Paris.

## China's Letdown After U.S. Thaw

By Joseph Kraft

PEKING — A wall poster recently put up here in Peking speaks of a "200-year-old uncle trying to nurse a 5,000-year-old baby." That image expresses brilliantly the letdown China has experienced since the normalization of relations with the United States was announced in mid-December.

Peking is now putting hard questions to Washington, and re-emphasizing points of difference. Unless the questions get some straight answers, damage will be done to Chinese-U.S. relations in ways that favor the Soviet Union.

Fear of the Soviet Union is the starting point for the Chinese doubts about the United States. In talks with Henry Kissinger, ranking Chinese officials — including party chairman Hua Guofeng and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping — have all complained about Soviet gains.

### Poked

As Foreign Minister Huang Hua said at a dinner the other night, "In the last year and more, the Soviet Union has poked its hand everywhere — in Africa, the Middle East, West Asia and Southeast Asia, impairing directly the security and independence of many Third World nations while posing a grave menace to the economic life of the Western countries."

The Chinese officials did not so much mention President Carter. But they intimated strongly that the Carter administration is responsible for the Soviet gains. More specifically, high-ranking officials express concern that the prospective strategic arms limitation treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union has scared West Germany to the point of causing Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to look for an independent deal with Moscow.

The Chinese also feel the Soviet Union may be helped in the Middle East because the United States, in deference to Israel, will give insufficient support to President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and to the oil-exporting states of the Arabian peninsula. They are worried that a U.S. tilt toward India might isolate Pakistan, and push that country, along with Afghanistan, into the Soviet camp. They say that an evenhanded policy respecting the Vietnam invasion of Cambodia and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam amounts to no policy.

### Doubts

Along with these doubts about U.S. global policy has gone a stiffening of bilateral issues. Negotiations on frozen assets, which seemed settled early in March during the visit here by Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal, have hit a snag. The Taiwan question, which Deng Xiaoping so artfully buried

before coming to the United States in February, has re-emerged.

Finally there is the matter of U.S. military support for China. U.S. Premier Deng told the visiting senators from the Foreign Relations Committee that China would "dare" to receive sophisticated weapons if the United States "dared" to offer them. He alluded to that combined request-cum-jail in his meeting with Mr. Kissinger the other day.

Good responses can be made to most of the Chinese complaints. U.S. sale of sophisticated weapons to China would surely enflame international tension. Local conditions, far more than U.S. policy, have been behind recent events in Europe, the Middle East, West Asia and Southeast Asia. Mr. Kissinger, to his credit, has been making these points, not whipping Chinese grievances for partisan purposes.

But whatever we, as Americans, may tell the Chinese, we have to acknowledge to ourselves that we have a case. Peking has absorbed heavy doses of the peculiar doubt talk which goes with the foreign policy of the Carter administration. Speaking through the president's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, the administration has served up to the Chinese a big helping of Grade A No. 1 brand of anti-Soviet rhetoric. But when it comes to helping the Chinese in place that matter to them and by militia strength in general, the Carter administration turns on its pacifist idealism.

### Poisons Diluted

That kind of doubletalk cannot continue without serious consequences for the three-cornered case among the United States, China and the Soviet Union. At the moment, to be sure, the Russian and the Chinese are furiously bawling each other. But time has diluted the poisons which once infected their relations. Mao Tsung, Moscow's most implacable foe in China, has passed away. The Chinese drive for economic modernization has virtually ended the doctrinal dispute between the two countries. The border issues which remain, and the contention for international primacy, are subject to compromise and accommodation.

Moscow and Peking, in other words, are not nearly as hostile to one another as they now imagine. A rapprochement some day seems inevitable. That day will be a day for the world if China turns toward the Soviet Union not merely in the spirit of accommodation, but with a sense of grievance born of the feeling it has been duped and deceived by the United States.

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## Carter's Herd of Elephants

By George F. Will

Republican conditions. The political environment is heavily dosed with thoughts of inflation, which generate doubts about the Democratic Party's modern purpose — energetic central government. At every turn, Kennedy's stance is an implied reproach to Carter. He clearly believes that a bolder, surer — yes, more passionate — man could dispel those doubts.

The debate about the SALT-2 agreement is the lightning rod that will attract all the anxieties about current foreign policy. Indeed, it already has. The debate is, in a sense, well along.

For about 70 senators, at least, there no longer are fundamental doubts about what to do with SALT-2. Like Carter's campaign for the Democratic nomination, critics of SALT-2 have stolen the march on the insiders. I can think of no issue of a greater importance to opposition, greeted with such meticulousness. At least 40 senators will refuse to ratify SALT-2 as negotiated; about 30 have decided to support it.

### Impotence

COWPS is the Council on Wage and Price Stability, symbol of the administration's impotence to fight against inflation. But to say that the anti-inflation guidelines are impotent as a cure is not to say they are without consequences. A recent Townsend-Greenpan report on the business outlook says:

"The increasing effectiveness of the guidelines in suppressing major metals prices is, ironically, one of the factors which leads us to conclude that large increases in underlying industrial prices are likely to be with us for a good number of months. In brief, the guidelines program has suppressed domestic market prices under world or merchant market levels and has led to a major acceleration in metal exports, specifically of steel and

aluminum. By reducing available supply, the effect of this ultimate must be to raise market prices the United States above what the rest of the world would have been, say early 1980, without the guidelines program."

While the public tells pollsters that it demands a less government, the public is also saying that it wants mandatory wage and price controls, a gross expansion of government. It is unavailing to tell the public that, in the long run, controls make matters worse. If this society was given to considering it long run, there would not be do-ble-digit inflation.

### Cause of Pain

Some Democrats think, with reason, that the economy is entering the summer with discouraging strength. And they wish the Federal Reserve would tighten credit enough to bring on the recession. They reason that recession is inevitable, and that the sooner it comes the shallower it will be, and the political damage it will cause. In 1980, the Fed is understood reluctant to play its allotted role in this exercise, that of the propping cause of pain.

As Carter faces a parching summer through summer, he can see that cause of pain. The problem is not that people expect so much of government. On the contrary, for the moment, at least, they expect so little that, incredibly, they are inclined to let presidential candidates in terms of a vague sympathy: Does he articulate my values?

In 1976, Carter alone understood that. But in 1980, he will be the only candidate whose role as a calculator will be overshadowed by his record and reputation as a political actor. That why this summer's lightning will illuminate next year's political landscape.

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## Gouging of \$2 Billion Is Alleged

## Energy Agency Accused on Oil Repricing

By Morton Mintz

WASHINGTON, May 4 (UPI) — The General Accounting Office has accused the Department of Energy of opening the way to huge, profitable frauds in the repricing of oil by failing repeatedly to enforce a 1973 law.

The GAO said in a draft report that the Department of Energy has consistently dragged its feet in conducting cases of apparent criminal conduct to the Justice Department, even to the point of making prosecution impossible in several instances.

The agency has thus far sent Justice nine cases in which middlemen known as crude-oil resellers escalated prices by setting up dummy corporations purporting to "buy" oil from one another. But in eight of these so-called "daisy chain" cases, the draft said, the agency had indications of criminal activity for "one or three years" before referring the cases for possible prosecution.

In one of the eight cases, the five-star statute of limitations ran out on Jan. 31. In another, it will expire next Friday.

The document goes beyond allegations made by the staff of a House Commerce subcommittee,

which said in December that many of the middlemen had become "overnight DOE millionaires," grossing "nearly \$2 billion" in illegal overcharges since the passage of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act of 1973.

The technique favored by the middlemen is the use of dummy corporations to convert "old" oil to "new" oil, which has commanded a premium of up to \$8 more a barrel. All told, the department has estimated, their combined overcharges in a single day have ranged as high as \$2.6 million.

Copies of the draft have circulated for several days in the department, but a spokesman said it would not comment until a final version is issued by the GAO, which is the investigating arm of Congress.

At the request of Sen. John D. Dingell, D-Mich., the GAO investigated enforcement by the department and its predecessor agencies of the 1973 law, which Congress passed to prevent gouging triggered by the steep increases in the price of crude suddenly demanded by foreign producers.

Specifically, the law sought to block profiteering between the wellhead and the refinery by assuring that the extra net cost of producing domestic crude oil would be passed through the supply chain dollar-for-dollar.

## Incentive to Cheat

But a strong incentive to cheat was built into the structure when Congress, seeking to spur additional drilling, allowed substantially higher prices for "new" oil from wells drilled after Jan. 1, 1973, than for "old" oil from wells drilled before then.

Congress also permitted a premium for so-called "stripper" oil from marginal wells, thus creating a three-tier price system for domestic crude. By contrast, a 27-tier system was created by last year's natural-gas legislation, which assigned the power of enforcement to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

"If FERC follows the pattern of inertia established by DOE, American gas consumers could be subjected to illegal billion-dollar rip-offs," the staff of the House Subcommittee on Energy and Power said in December in a paper prepared for Chairman John Dingell, D-Mich.

In the GAO draft report, a principal focus of criticism of the Department of Energy arose from its persistent refusal to recognize that Congress gave the Justice Department responsibility for determining whether suspect conduct actually is a crime, for supervising criminal investigations, and for deciding whether to prosecute.

## Duty Cited

Under long-standing Justice Department policy with government-owned application, any agency having "reason to suspect" that is has learned of criminal acts has the "duty" to report them.

But the GAO said that the Department of Energy, rather than adhere to this policy, causes lengthy and even fatal delays by going "too far in its investigations" before referring apparent criminal activities to the department. "In the four years, 1974 through 1977, DOE didn't refer a single criminal case to Justice."

In July, 1977, an internal task force found that the Department of Energy had little or no capacity for activities normally left to the Justice Department, such as making criminal investigations and determining whether violations of its regulations were willful.

Yet, in what the draft report termed "a major misdirection of effort," the Department of Energy plans to have 58 percent of its enforcement staff conducting criminal investigations by the end of fiscal 1980.

**Primary Responsibility** As far back as December, 1974, the GAO and other critics warned the Department of Energy that it was neglecting what the draft called its "primary responsibility" — the audit of crude oil sales.

As a result, the report said, the Department of Energy assigned only one auditor part-time, to each of 33 audits, including three in which "the auditor spent no time on the assignment even though the audit was classified as having been started." Only 11 audits are complete, while 21 are open and 11 are planned.

Meanwhile, the report said, the Department of Energy continued to divert "valuable staff resources" to expand its investigative role. Now that the Justice Department has special energy units of its own, the draft said, "DOE's continued involvement in criminal investigations should only be at the request and under the supervision of Justice."

Although the Energy-Justice relationship reportedly has improved recently, it will be explored May 21 in a joint hearing by the energy subcommittee and the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime.

## Sen. Ribicoff, 69, 40-Year Veteran, To Quit Politics

WASHINGTON, May 4 (UPI)

— Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., yesterday announced the end of a 40-year career in politics, during which he served as a member of Congress, governor of Connecticut, senator and in the Kennedy cabinet.

Sen. Ribicoff, 69, chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee, said he would not seek re-election in 1980, when his third six-year term expires. He said that he made the decision during the 1974 election.

After serving in the Connecticut General Assembly and as a municipal judge, Sen. Ribicoff was elected to two terms in the House, was twice elected governor and, as secretary of Health, Education and Labor, was President John F. Kennedy's first cabinet appointee. He resigned that post to run successfully for the Senate in 1962.

Sen. Ribicoff said that he would not seek office again and would accept an assignment from a president only if it was "essential to the national interest." Commenting on why he was announcing his decision well in advance of next year's elections, the senator said, "I don't like to play games."

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**HAIL FROM THE CHIEF** — An Alaskan Indian chief, Matthew J. Fred, places his hand on President Carter's forehead and chants, "Na hoo woo" — thus proclaiming the president an honorary chief of the Tlingit tribe. The ceremony, in appreciation of Mr. Carter's actions in protecting Alaska lands, took place on Thursday in the East Room of the White House.

## With Uranium Producers

## Westinghouse in International Wrangle

PITTSBURGH, May 4 (AP-DJ) — Westinghouse Electric's dispute with some of the world's largest mining concerns is shaping up as one of the thorniest legal imbroglios in years. A final settlement is not expected soon — perhaps not within 10 years.

Among those involved are foreign ministries in London, Ottawa, Canberra and Cape Town, all of which have strong objections to efforts by U.S. courts to apply U.S. antitrust laws to foreign corporations.

Nearly a decade ago, Westinghouse, seeking a competitive edge in the sale of nuclear reactors, promised to provide electric utilities with nuclear fuel at fixed, long-term prices. When the world price of uranium jumped fourfold in 1974-75, the company was forced to renege on its promise. Angry utilities filed a barrage of suits.

Westinghouse filed a suit of its own in 1976, blaming the uranium price rise on an international cartel of 17 domestic and 12 foreign producers. The case is set for trial in September, 1980. While the U.S. courts will be tough enough opponents, nine of the foreign companies are putting up all sorts of obstacles.

All nine have taken full advantage of their governments' protection against foreign antitrust prosecution and have ignored summonses and resisted requests for documents. Prentice Marshall, a federal judge in Chicago assigned to hear Westinghouse's complaint, notes that they have not yet answered Westinghouse's complaint "in any manner whatsoever."

Westinghouse suspects that some of the nine may have removed assets from the United States or otherwise taken steps to keep assets beyond the reach of federal marshals in case the courts order their seizure.

"Westinghouse is fighting an uphill battle all the way," says James Granelli, a lawyer who has been following the litigation for the National Law Journal. "I'm not saying it's hopeless, but Westinghouse has its hands full."

What Westinghouse is trying to do, in effect, is to stick the uranium producers with the \$2 billion in damages that Westinghouse would have to pay if the courts forced it to honor all its contracts with the suing utilities. (So far, Westinghouse has paid \$178 million in out-of-court settlements with some of the utilities. But the settlements cover only about 25 percent of the uranium contracts in dispute.)

Westinghouse has not won a penny yet from the uranium companies, but it did recently win a default judgment against the nine foreign producers. The court has also enjoined the nine from attempting to transfer assets out of the country without giving Westinghouse 20 days' notice so that it can contest the transfer. Judge Marshall will decide next autumn the amount of damages he thinks they should pay.

But there are problems. For one thing, there is doubt that the Chicago court has jurisdiction over the foreign companies.

"Since the parties didn't appear, the issue hasn't been tested as yet," says Peter Hay, assistant dean at the University of Illinois Law School. The validity of the default

judgment, he says, is still open to attack whenever Westinghouse tries to enforce it.

Canada has declared that documents relating to the uranium cartel cannot be removed from the country, and has warned that failure to comply with its declaration "would have an adverse impact on relations between the U.S. and Canada."

Australia has forbidden its courts to enforce foreign antitrust judgments without the consent of the Australian attorney general.

The U.S. State Department declines to comment.

One reason that the foreign governments are backing the defendants so strongly is that the uranium marketing arrangements under attack from Westinghouse were, in many cases, initiated by those governments to protect their mining industries.

Westinghouse apparently still has not ruled out the alternative of suing the foreign firms in their home courts.

The nine foreign producers failing to respond to the price-fixing charges are South Africa's Anglo-American Corp. and Nuclear Fuel, Australia's Cominco, Rio Tinto, Mary Kathleen Uranium, Pancontinental Mining Ltd., and Queensland Mines Ltd., Britain's Rio Tinto-Zinc and RTZ Services Ltd. and Canada's Rio Algom.

The three foreign producers that have responded are all Canadian —

Denison Mines Ltd., Noranda Mines Ltd. and Gulf Minerals Canada Ltd.

Westinghouse, meanwhile, armed with Judge Marshall's injunction against the firms' moving assets out of the United States, recently blocked the direct payment of \$1.6 million in back bills to one of the defendants, Rio Algom Ltd., by its U.S. subsidiary, Atlas Alloys Inc., a Cleveland steel distributor.

Rio Algom, Westinghouse told the court, "has decided to try to clear up the backlog of debt due to it from its subsidiary in order to minimize the amount of its assets which are subject to attachment by the courts." Judge Marshall ordered the sum paid into a court bank account, and Atlas Alloys is appealing the order.

Commonwealth Edison, a Chicago utility, has also been ordered to put money into a court account — money it owes to one of the Australian defendants, Mary Kathleen Uranium Ltd. The utility is complying with the order, but fears that the uranium producer will refuse to deliver 2.5 million pounds of uranium to comply with the contract.

U.S. Borax & Chemical of Los Angeles has \$123 million in assets that Westinghouse thinks it may have some claim to. The concern, which has moved to quash a Westinghouse subpoena for information, is indirectly owned by Rio Tinto-Zinc, one of the defaulting defendants.

## House Defeats GOP Plans On Spending, Tax Slash

By Warren Weaver Jr.

WASHINGTON, May 4 (NYT) — The House defeated a Republican financial plan yesterday that its sponsors said would have balanced the U.S. budget in 1980 and permitted a tax cut of \$10 billion at the same time.

By a vote of 214 to 186, members rejected the proposal of Rep. John Rostenkowski of California and kept alive the plan supported by the House Budget Committee. Rep. Rostenkowski's proposal called for a cut of \$20 billion in government spending.

The Republicans will advance two other major alternatives to the Budget Committee's figures before the House debate ends early next week. The principal one would reduce the committee's expected deficit to \$15.2 billion from \$24.9 billion.

Rep. John Rhodes of Arizona, the minority leader, said yesterday that this Republican plan "ought to fly" because it would cut taxes and at the same time will appeal to members who want to move toward a balanced budget more rapidly than the Democrats do.

## Disaster Seen

Rep. Robert Giallardo of Connecticut, the budget chairman, charged that the Republican balancing plan would be "a disaster," increasing inflation and unemployment, slowing down the economy and producing a deficit of \$10 billion to \$17 billion.

Rep. Robert Bauman, R-Md., said that the vote would give all the

Democrats who pledged their support to a balanced budget in last year's campaign an opportunity to make good on those promises.

To underscore the problem of balancing the budget, Rep. David Obey, D-Wis., proposed an amendment that would achieve this result but only at the expense of dismissing hundreds of thousands of government workers, cutting welfare payments in half and reducing Medicare and Medicaid payments.

The House then voted down the amendment, 376 to 2, with its sponsor among those voting no.

## According to Survey

## Fear Said to Grow in U.S. About Invasion of Privacy

By David Burnham

NEW YORK, May 4 (NYT) — Two out of three Americans polled in a recent national survey expressed concern that government agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service and private organizations such as finance companies were violating their privacy.

Three out of four of those polled urged a guarantee of privacy, equating the right of privacy with the "unalienable rights" of the Declaration of Independence, which include "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

## New Concern

A wide variety of respondents were surveyed in several different polls. One involved 2,100 people representing a cross section of the general public. In several smaller polls, those questioned included credit card executives, bank officials, computer executives, state insurance commissioners, regulatory officials and members of Congress.

Over 200 questions were asked. All were asked whether they were "very concerned," "somewhat concerned," "only a little concerned" or "not at all concerned" about threats to their privacy. Two-thirds replied that they were "very" or "somewhat" concerned, as against 47 percent in a similar poll 11 months earlier.

Mr. Harris said that the findings showed that the Carter administration "is lingering behind the country in suggesting remedies to the widespread public belief that their privacy was being abused by government and private institutions."

Mr. Harris and Alan Westin, who served as a consultant to the study, which cost \$600,000, said that the public concern about privacy appeared to have been gradually increasing in recent years for a variety of reasons but that the abuses of the Watergate era had been important.

Mr. Westin, a professor of public law and government at Columbia University, said, "Richard Nixon has to be regarded as the patron saint of privacy."

## Findings of Poll

The survey found the following:

- One in five polled said that they had been the victims of what they regarded as an improper invasion of their privacy.

- One out of three said that the United States had already reached a point or was "very close" to the time described by George Orwell in his book "1984" when the government "knew almost everything that everyone was doing."

- Half those questioned said that within 10 years the American people "will have lost much of our ability to keep important aspects of our lives private from the government."

Forty-five percent of those questioned felt that finance companies and credit bureaus asked for too much personal information. This compared with 38 percent who felt the same way about insurance companies and the Internal Revenue Service, 33 percent who aimed their concern at the CIA and the FBI, and 31 percent who cited newspapers, magazines and television.

By contrast, 78 percent of the bankers, 68 percent of state insurance commissions and 60 percent

of doctors and members of Congress polled said that they believed that news organizations collected too much information.

Almost three out of four said that they favored prosecution of "anyone who publishes secret materials." At the same time, two out of three said that the notes of journalists should be protected.

## Argentina Ousts Union Leaders

BUENOS AIRES, May 4 (AP) — The military government stripped four jailed labor leaders of their union posts yesterday for calling a protest strike last Friday against official economic policies.

They are Roberto Garcia, who is a regional vice president of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Demetrio Lorenzo, Enrique Ramon Mico and Jose Luis Castillo.

All had been allowed to keep their posts when the military took power three years ago, appointed military caretakers for many unions, and banned strikes.

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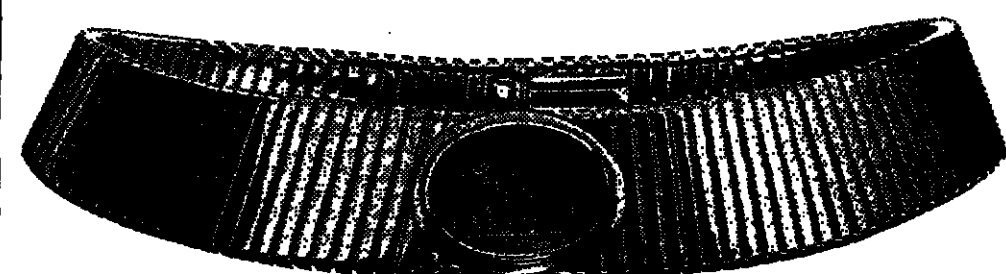
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## J.S. Senate Votes to Buy Iran-Ordered Destroyers

By Robert G. Kaiser

WASHINGTON, May 4 (UPI) — Senate last night approved a Senate supplement to this defense appropriation, after John Stennis, D-Miss., won a tie with the Carter administration over U.S. acquisition of naval destroyers originally ordered by the Iranian.

The extra authorization includes \$5 million for accelerated development of a new intercontinental missile known as the MX. The final Senate vote on the extra authorization was 77-12. Most opponents were liberals, several of whom spoke out against the MX as a potentially dangerous addition to the nuclear arsenal.

Stennis indicated that the administration had promised to port U.S. acquisition during the next fiscal year of four Spruance-class destroyers under construction in its state on a pre-warrior order from Iran. But the administration lined up with Sen. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., who urged an amendment striking authorization for two of the four from this defense bill.

"This is a repudiation of what everybody has told me," Sen. Stennis shouted from the floor. When the Senate voted, he came out the winner, 56-32. Since the House has authorized acquisition of only two of the Iranian destroyers this year, a conference panel will have to work out a compromise.

The bill also authorizes the Navy to begin refurbishing its Forrestal-class aircraft carriers. In a sharp defeat for Virginia's two senators, the Senate voted to have that work performed at the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard instead of the Newport News Ship and Drydock Co. in Virginia, which the Navy had favored. The decision will cost Newport News an estimated 2,500 to 3,000 jobs.

The cost of refurbishing all four Forrestal-class carriers will eventually reach \$2 billion or more. The decision in favor of Philadelphia will help an area suffering from high unemployment. A coalition of northern senators, liberal Democrats and personal friends of the senators from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware won the day.



## INSIGHTS/SIDELIGHTS

## Chile: The Regime Eases

By Charles Krause

**SANTIAGO (WP)** — From the Santiago office of *Santi*, government magazines such as *Hoy* and *Mensajero* to the now-abandoned camp for political prisoners on the Pacific coast near Vina del Mar, there is evidence that Chile is emerging from its darkest days of repression and terror.

As recently as last summer, the military government of Gen. Augusto Pinochet was closing newspapers for criticizing the government. Chileans still spoke in whispers when asked about almost anything other than the weather or where they planned to spend their vacations.

Today much of that has changed. According to the Roman Catholic Church's human rights organization, the Vicaría de la Solidaridad, there has not been a single case of a person mysteriously disappearing in more than a year. And while Chileans still are sometimes arrested for illegal political activity, in most cases they are either charged promptly or released, instead of being held incommunicado for months.

Despite the Pinochet regime's continued international image as one of the world's most repressive military dictatorships, even its harshest critics here admit that this is a far different country from what it was. "The feeling I have is that it is true that there has been a significant change," said Edgardo Boeninger, a former rector of the University of Chile and a man widely respected here for his unbending commitment to democracy. "There is a greater degree of freedom and personal security."

## Less Torture

"Detentions are relatively infrequent," said a diplomat whose government monitors the human rights situation here very closely. "As a matter of practice, they are no longer torturing people, although there still may be some isolated cases. As far as I can see, there aren't going to be any more disappearances in this place as a matter of government policy."

While this diplomat, as well as Mr. Boeninger and Vicaría director Christian Precht, readily acknowledge that the human rights situation has greatly improved, all point out that the new personal security has not been institutionalized in law. The mechanisms of repression are still available should Gen. Pinochet decide to renege them.

The government recently renewed, for another six months, the state of emergency that gives it extraordinary powers. Although the dreaded security force

DINA was abolished 18 months ago, secret police still exist, as do the now-vacant camps for political prisoners. The Pinochet government remains unwilling to tolerate open opposition by the country's once strong political parties — even noncommunist, democratic ones such as former president Eduardo Frei's Christian Democrats.

While they cannot organize political rallies, individual Christians Democrats nevertheless can now write and say what they think without fear of arrest. The press cannot criticize Gen. Pinochet personally or the armed forces directly, but it has been increasingly and, up to now, successfully bold in testing the limits of the new freedoms.

## Scandals Reported

Revelations about the involvement of the Chilean secret police in the assassination of Orlando Letelier, a leading opponent-in-exile of the Pinochet regime until his murder in 1976 in Washington, have been staple fare for almost all newspapers and magazines here since March. More recently, the press has given full coverage to the discovery of more than 14 decomposed bodies in a mine shaft. Most of these dead have been identified as persons listed with the Vicaría as having disappeared after the 1973 coup while in the custody of police or military officers.

The Pinochet government has consistently denied that it had anything to do with Mr. Letelier's assassination or has any responsibility for the more than 600 persons that the church and human rights groups say were taken away and murdered as part of the military's effort to destroy the leftist opposition. But it has made no effort to muzzle the press as it reports these developments.

Perhaps more indicative of the new government attitude than what appears in the press is the return to Chile of increasing numbers of former supporters of the late President Salvador Allende's Marxist government who went into exile after 1973. Most of these exiles feared for their lives during the months and years after the coup, as DINA rounded up those who it believed held views dangerous to the rightist dictatorship.

More and more of these exiles are returning home. They come and resettle quietly. There seems to be a tacit understanding that those who return can stay without harassment if they do not cause "trouble."

The government, however, has been unwilling to allow the return of prominent Socialist and Communist political leaders in exile — those who sought

asylum in embassies here before leaving the country. Interior Minister Sergio Fernández has said that the government may never allow these exiles to come back.

Chileans interviewed during the last month attribute the changes, and hopes for the future, largely to international and domestic pressure, as well as to new civilian government ministers, such as Foreign Minister Hernán Cubillos, who believe that the government must slowly restore liberty in preparation for return to civilian rule.

After recent threats by an international labor union to boycott Chilean exports, the government has increased the rights of Chilean unions — traditional sources of political influence and power here. Union members will be able to meet without prior clearance, the government has said, and a dues checkoff system will be implemented. The government has promised a new labor code later this year that will allow strikes, under certain limited conditions, for the first time since the coup.

## Foreign Pressures

Gen. Pinochet has been forced to reduce repression, some opponents say, because of pressures like the threatened boycott and the refusal of many countries to sell arms to Chile during its tense border dispute with Argentina last year. Others say that civilians such as Mr. Cubillos realized that foreign investment in Chile has lagged because of the country's abysmal human rights image.

Mr. Cubillos has argued, to some extent successfully, according to several sources, that Chile's image would not improve until there were real and sustained changes in the country.

Some cite what they call Chile's basically democratic character, and a realization in the military, on which Gen. Pinochet depends for support, that a liberalization was necessary to preserve the basic outlines of the authoritarian government and avoid massive unrest.

According to this view, Chileans were prepared to accept extraordinary measures after the chaos that existed toward the end of Mr. Allende's government, but were unwilling to accept the same restrictions on their liberty once the prospect of Communism had clearly subsided.

Mr. Boeninger and other democratic leaders feel that the government decided to tolerate the critical publications and groups such as the Committee of 24, now preparing an alternative constitution to the one



Gen. Augusto Pinochet

Gen. Pinochet is having written, so long as they do not reach average, working-class Chileans. But even in the working-class neighborhoods that ring Santiago, Catholic priests who live among the poor say that the situation is better than it was. The Rev. Tom Connolly, a U.S. priest working and living in the parish of San Luis de Huachuraba, said he had reason to believe that police informers regularly attended his Sunday Masses until not long ago. When they did, he said, he felt inhibited from going beyond what the bishops said about human rights or economic conditions in the country. "Now we feel we can say pretty much what we want," Father Connolly said.

Gen. Pinochet's supporters say the president recognizes that he will not live forever, and sees his mission as providing the basis for a return to civilian rule within some sort of democratic framework. His decision to ease up, they maintain, was based on an improving economy and a belief that the military government still has substantial support.

Meanwhile, the young civilians recently brought into the government know that they will have to live in society outside the barracks, when the military government ends. When and how that will happen is the issue at the forefront of Chilean political life.

## According to Sociology Report

## For Violent Crime in U.S., There's No Place Like Home

By Celeste Durant

**LOS ANGELES** — Violence among family members used to be one of those things nobody talked about.

But that began to change in the mid-60s as one after another form of familial violence and abuse was exposed. First, the focus was on child beating and abuse, followed by attention to sexual abuse of children in the early 1970s.

The focus in the mid-70s turned to wife beating. Now, husband beating is becoming a topic. Next, according to sociologists, attention will turn to problems of sibling abuse (both physical and sexual), abuse of parents and finally abuse of the elderly.

## Part of Family Life

Violence always has been an integral part of family life, according to sociologist Richard Gelles, associate professor of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Rhode Island. "The family is the most violent group in society with the exception of the police and the military," he said. "You are more likely to get killed, injured or physically attacked in your home by someone you are related than in any other social context."

The FBI reports that domestic violence is the most common and the most unreported crime in the United States. An estimated one-quarter to one-third of all homicides are domestic murders in which one family member kills another.

A survey of 2,143 families conducted by Mr. Gelles along with Murray Straus, director of the University of New Hampshire's Family Violence Research Program, and Suzanne Steinmetz, an associate professor of individual and family studies at the University of Delaware, disclosed startling statistics.

Projected nationwide, the survey's results showed that all the victims of family violence — children, wives, husbands and parents in 1975, the year surveyed — would amount to the population of New York City.

"About 8 million persons, and everyone of them getting either struck, stabbed, beat up, punched or kicked at least once a year," Mr. Gelles said. "There are more battered spouses alone, the survey indicated, than there are people who live in the city of Los Angeles. If violence were a communicable disease like swine flu, the government would consider it an epidemic."

But the effect of violence among family members does not confine itself to the members of the family. The FBI estimates that about 20 percent of police deaths and 28 percent of assaults on police officers occur while officers are intervening in family fights.

Barbara Star, a professor of sociology at University of Southern California's School of Social Work, concludes, "You are probably safer on the streets of Los Angeles at night than you are in your own home. Sharing a residence increases the chances of multiple physical violence and you can't avoid it."

That is not to say that today's families are all bad. "There is a kind of paradox about the family as there is with so much of life," says Mr. Straus. "I characterize the family as the most violent group a typical citizen has anything to do with, but at the same time, it is also the most loving and supporting group. And those two things, that combination and how those elements coexist, is what research is trying to unravel."

Until recently, very little research has been done on family violence. One reason was that there people feel that they have the right to hit a member of their family. The clearest example of this — a perhaps unwritten rule of family life — is that parents feel they have the right to hit children and the same is true of sibling fights. Such violence is expected, Mr. Straus says.

"Even with husbands and wives, the marriage license is a kind of hitting license," says Mr. Straus. "Violence can be used for morally good ends — that's a fundamental part of our thinking — that's why we go to war."

However, there is no such right — implied or otherwise — in the case of incest and abuse of the elderly. The rules of society expressly forbid incest and frown on abuse of the elderly.

Yet all three types of abuse and violence occur and they affect every member of the family. "You can get away with so much more violence in the family because the family unit has gotten smaller," says Prof. Star. "The family has decreased

in size and visibility. There is nobody around to censor you, not even your family and that's been a real key factor in what is going on in homes and why it doesn't get stopped."

The Gelles, Straus and Steinmetz survey found that the rate of child abuse is 129 percent higher in families where there is also abuse of the spouse. As a result of the study, Mr. Gelles projects that between 1.4 to 1.9 million children were subjected to physical injury in 1975.

A separate category of child abuse is sexual abuse, including incest. It is not violence in the technical sense in most cases, but it is intimidation or emotional force — an older person using his position of authority or trust to get a child to engage in sexual activity.

David Finkelhor, a research scientist on the Family Violence Research project at the University of New Hampshire, has just completed a survey in which 800 college students were asked about their childhood sexual experiences, especially those in which they were victimized by adults or adolescents.

About 19 percent of the women and 9 percent of the men had had such experiences when they were children," Mr. Finkelhor says. "And interestingly enough, a large number of the incidents were through family members."

In this as in other studies, father-daughter incest was one of the most common forms. Mr. Finkelhor and others estimate that about 1 percent of all women have had some sort of father-daughter sexual experience.

"In any one year," says Mr. Straus, "one out of every six couples will have some kind of physical altercation — that ranges from slapping or throwing things, to using a knife or gun."

Until recently, the popular belief was that husbands were the assaulters and wives the victims. But according to the Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz survey, wives are just as abusive.

"If your criterion is who ends up in the doctor's office or hospital," says Mr. Straus, "then husband abuse is quite rare compared to wife abuse because men have larger muscles and are, on an average, two to three inches taller."

"But if the criterion is the number of acts considered to be violent carried out by the participants, like throwing coffee pots, then husband abuse is an equally serious problem. Our data, as well as that of three or four other studies, shows clearly that men and women have roughly equal rates of that kind of abuse," says Mr. Straus.

Husbands and wives are also about equal when it comes to murdering their mates. According to 1975 FBI statistics of spousal homicides, 7.8 percent of the victims were husbands, while 8.0 percent were wives.

According to Geraldine Stahley of Women's Health, a haven in Long Beach, Calif., for battered wives and their children, 80 percent of the men who batter their wives were battered children or were children who watched their fathers beat their mothers.

## Sexual Experience

Mrs. Steinmetz, who has made some preliminary studies in this area, estimates that between 63 percent and 78 percent of all siblings used physical violence to resolve conflicts.

The Steinmetz, Straus and Gelles survey found that of families with two or more children between the ages of 3 and 17, 75 percent reported sibling violence an average of 21 times per year; 38 percent kicked or hit; 14 percent beat up a sibling; 10 percent threatened with a gun or knife, and 15 percent actually used a gun or knife.

The Finkelhor study also found that 13 percent of his interviewees had some kind of sexual experience with a sibling. Of those who had, one-third were before the age of 8 and one-third were cases where substantially older youngsters took advantage of younger children.

The National Office on Aging says that it has set abuse of the elderly as one of its topics of research this year, but it does not have any statistics yet. Mrs. Steinmetz believes that most of the abuse takes the form of "such things as tying the elderly person who needs constant watching to the bed in order to do shopping or housecleaning or using excessive amounts of alcohol or sleeping pills to keep them under control."

But, she added, battering of parents with fists and objects to make them mind or to change their wills or their financial arrangements, is increasing.

Without help, said Prof. Star, the family "is a social institution that is destroying itself from within."

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## Around the Galleries

## Vallotton Is a Painter Of Astonishing Diversity

Paris

Felix Vallotton, Petit Palais, Avenue Winston-Churchill, Paris 8, to June 18.

Vallotton (1865-1925) was born in Lausanne, the son of a local dignitary who ran a pharmacy on Place de la Palud. He revealed an extremely precocious talent and in 1882, at the age of 17, he went to Paris to learn the painter's craft. He soon was producing woodcuts in an entirely original style (though inspired no doubt by the Japanese masters) and, while still in his 20s, began to enjoy an international reputation that led him to work for publications in Europe and in the United States.

He was also a painter, however, and one of astonishing diversity and originality. His manner ranges from a thoughtful, almost naive contemplation of nature, through gentle meditative interiors and modest nudes, thence to more naturalistic nudes that hardly seem to be the work of the same painter, and beyond that to yet other views of nature that might almost be read as erotic metaphors. In the midst of all this we see paintings that attempt to render something of the rain of fire that was Verdun through more or less abstract patterns that constitute a curiosity. Vallotton's color is original and varied. Stylistically he assembles and reconciles classical and expressionistic traits. He bridged an age of tremendous change but stuck to his own originality, which was strong, and consequently left a body of work marked by his own complexity, obstinacy, opacity and enthusiasm.

Nicolas de Stael, drawings, Galerie Jeanne Bucher, 53 Rue de Seine, Paris 6, to May 26.

De Stael appears as a man who sought to reconcile a variety of opposites. One is reminded of Heraclitus, who remained a skeptic as long as he sought to find a unity reason to his philosophy, but who was able to renounce his skepticism once he saw reason to be founded on discord and contradiction. De Stael sought to catch something of the world, and to do so through an approach that could never quite define itself in terms of representation or abstraction. At the time this appeared a partisan issue. Abstraction took on the air of a dogma. Today nobody could care less, and we can look at De Stael's struggle with the Cézannian mystique with considerable sympathy. The drawings grow from very persuasive abstract constructions to

equally persuasive and spare studies that try to catch the bare bones of the world. This is the strong contradiction that De Stael confronted. Experience is one thing, the work of art another. Yet, one senses an almost desperate desire to catch the fire of experience in the cup of art. This appears to be the impossible ambition that constitutes the pathos of a work which, in itself, is reserved in the extreme.

Three Million Years of Human Adventure, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Jardin des Plantes, 36 Rue Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, Paris 5, to May 31.

A well conceived didactic show that takes one on a rocket trip through three thousand millions of upright stance. An adventure to be continued.

—MICHAEL GIBSON

London

Pierre Lafleur, Canada House Gallery, Trafalgar Square, London SW1, to May 9.

In a series of painted cubes, as flat paintings, in both cases combined with mirrors, Lafleur prepares what he terms "Space Traps," experiments in optical effects, especially in the region of superimposed colors.

Oliviera Cezar/Daniel Marb, Aberbach Fine Art, 17 St. Row, London W1, to May 12.

Argentinian Cezar, in a sequence of large paintings of windows, explores the interrelationships of light and space. French-born Marb, fired by an English exhibition, "The Destruction of the English Country House" — makes high distinctive painted plaster models of historic country houses and a chitcheat follies.

Works from the Roland Collection, Courtauld Institute Gallery, Woburn Square, London WC1, May 13.

Dr. Henry Roland, art historical recently retired dealer, and co-noisseur, has loaned to the Art Council of Great Britain for a trading exhibition 75 items from his personal collection. Ranging from Bonnard, Ernst and Sickel through Moore and Rodin, to Matisse, Nolde and Picasso, but including also many lesser-known artists of quality, it amply conveys Dr. Roland's wide and sensitive appreciation of modern art.

—MAX WYKES-JOYCE

## Opera

## 'The Nose' Satirizes Face of Old Russia

By Alan Blyth

**LONDON, May 4 (HT)** — Maxim Shostakovich is in London to conduct his father's youthful and brilliant opera "The Nose" at the Coliseum for the New Opera Company. As I left the house after the performance my companion said: "You've left your nose on your seat."

It was indeed an evening when you could not help but be conscious of your neighbor's, indeed the whole audience's, facial protuberances.

This, Dmitri Shostakovich's first work for the stage (dating from 1927-8), is superficially concerned with a civil servant's loss of his nose. The rumor of the noseless Kovalyov spreads like wildfire through the St. Petersburg of the 1830s. When it returns, it won't go back on its owner's face. However, after many alarms and excursions, it is suddenly once more in place; had it really ever been lost?

At a deeper level the tale, based on a short story by Gogol, can be seen as a social satire even a satire of the absurd comedy with Freudian overtones (the nose is really a more delicate part of Kovalyov's body), and that is emphasized in Anthony Bonello's inventive and pointed (lots of noses and phallic symbols on projections) production. The composer's librettist, V. Preuss, also called on episodes from other Gogol stories and one from Dostoevsky and naturally

enough the result has no distill focus, but we are perhaps blind to that fact during the course of the piece by the way Bonello's stage matches the fantasy of the sex and Gogol's love of the bizarre.

Bonello, even more so his inspired designer, Peter Rice, have taken full advantage of the text not only in the projections but also in evoking period Russia in miniature. They work well, although a rather satiric view of the works can be imagined. What they cannot do persuade us to be involved in a theatrical fantasy that has no real characters or consistent plot.

The score is highly colorful, eclectic, daring, noisy — indeed everything you would expect from 22-year-old composer of Shostakovich's genius writing in the artistically permissive Russian of 1920s when Schoenberg, Hindemith and Berg were very much vogue, and Russia's infant tent could have his way. Curious enough, many of the stage episodes, for all their vocal high jinks, lack the musical interest of Shostakovich's genius. The famous entrance for person alone is a particular tour de force. The score calls for 10 person players, normal strings and one each of wind and brass instruments.

Maxim Shostakovich is predictably adept at bringing to the taut brilliance, but also the fineness of the piece, and a tained superb playing from the orchestra. It was not always easy to hear Edward Downes' translation of the libretto. That was unfortunate as the composer wished it to predominate. Shostakovich, however, did not help himself writing so many passages for the highest register of the voices. The for the tenor police inspector who is dispatched by John Wilfield as at the work's British premiere six years ago.

All in the cast were mesh which did not add clarity although it was visually arresting. Alan Oj offered a sympathetic Kovalyov and evoked some sympathy in the battle with bureaucracy (for the turn of his nose, which took an live life of its own in the cynic presence of Bernard Dickerson, the rest, Edward Byles was not in a variety of canons and An Collins, as an old countess, gave object-lesson in enunciation.

## Arts Agenda

The French-American pianist Francois-Josef Thibault plays an all-Vienna program May 7 at the Theatre de l'Athene in Paris, including Schubert's *Ländler*, Liszt's "Soiree de Vienne" No. 3 and Brahms' waltzes and Handel Variations. The same evening at the Theatre des Champs-Elysees, Alexis Weissenberg plays all three Chopin sonatas while Sviatoslav Richter's Schubert-Prokofiev recital of May 6 at the Salle Pleyel has been postponed to May 15.

The Festival de l'île de France, which presents musical programs in chateaux and other historic sites in the Paris region from May 6 to July 8, opens May 6 at 4 p.m. at the Abbaye de Royaumont, north of Paris, with the Ensemble Instrumental Bernard Fontenay. Information on the complete program is available at the Theatre des Champs-Elysees in Paris.

## Do Taxpayers Hold the Bag?

## Commissaries: Uncle Sam as Corner Grocer

By Sandra G. Boodman

**WASHINGTON (WP)** — Once a week Marie Marschall, the wife of a retired admiral, leaves her house in an Alexandria, Va., neighborhood of \$120,000 homes and drives 10 minutes to her favorite store to buy food for her family.

Mrs. Marschall's favorite store is the giant Cameron Station commissary in Alexandria. One of the most controversial and cherished perquisites of military life, commissaries sell cut-rate groceries to the nation's 8 million to 12 million active-duty and retired military personnel and their families.

Criticism of the century-old commissary system evokes impassioned responses from military families such as the Marschalls, who are able to save 25 to 30 percent on food costs because the commissaries receive a federal subsidy and tax exemptions. Military personnel defend the system as a well-deserved fringe benefit promised to them when they entered the armed forces.

"In 1946, when I joined the service, I was told that certain things would happen if I lived through 20 years and didn't get killed in combat," said a retired Army colonel who is a Washington lobbyist and prominent local official. "I'm entitled to commissaries. It's part of the deal."

## 'A Rip-Off'

Critics charge that the commissary system is, in the words of a Senate aide, "little more than a blatant rip-off which has absolutely no defense value." The critics contend that this has been particularly true since Congress instituted pay comparability, raising military salaries to the level of similar civil service jobs.

Although the General Accounting Office and Presidents Ford and Carter have favored eliminating the federal subsidy of commissaries — \$330 million this year — Congress repeatedly has killed such proposals. Sponsors of the bills, introduced in Congress frequently since 1975, have included Sens. Thomas Eagleton, D-Mo., and John Culver, D-Iowa, and Rep. Les Aspin, D-Wis.

"You'd think we were paying these guys \$100 a month and a cup of coffee," said Warren Nelson, an aide to Aspin. "People just bitch and scream whenever there's a proposal to eliminate the subsidy. It used to be that commissaries were compensation for low pay, but we changed the whole basis for that in 1967, when pay comparability was instituted."

Consider the following: Despite declining enlistment, the Army Times Publishing Co. reports that 55 commissaries will be constructed in the next four years in what is described as a "building boom."

Washington has eight commissaries, more than any other metropolitan area, including the world's largest commissary at Cameron Station.

In addition to the annual federal subsidy, the nation's 279 commissaries operate rent-free on federal land and their transactions are exempt from state and local taxes. Virginia officials say that in 1977 the state lost about \$25 million in sales-tax and property-tax revenues to commissaries.

Commissaries were started where there was no corner grocery store in the middle of Wyoming territory," Nelson said. Currently, he said, nearly half the nation's commissaries are within a 10-minute drive of a supermarket.

"There's no economic justification for commissaries in any metropolitan area, especially this one," said Richard Lieberman, a veteran staff member of the Senate Appropriations Committee. "But commissaries are a way of life and Congress knows it can't take that away from us."

C.A. McKinney, government affairs director of the 189,000-member NCO (Non-Commissioned Officers) Association, agreed. "In most offices on the Hill," he said, "they're not anxious to what is going on in the military, so we inform them. When commissaries get attacked, we get boxes and boxes of petitions from all over the country, and we let Congress know."

Defenders of the system say that commissaries are an important inducement to recruitment and the retention of career military families, who save hundreds of dollars each year on food.

"I've worked 21 years for this and that includes three tours of duty in Vietnam," said Army Capt. Bill Altman, 40, who will retire from the military this year. "The guarantee when I went in was that I'd get certain benefits and that includes commissaries. It's part of the deal and I don't see any justification for taking that away from us."

Critics point out that abolishing the subsidy would not phase out the commissaries themselves. Even without the subsidy, they say, commissary shoppers would save 10 percent to 15 percent on their food bills.

"That's just not enough to make commissary shopping worthwhile," said Nancy Tucker, the editor of *Military Market*, a magazine. "Sure, there's a savings, but you get migraine headaches from standing in those lines waiting for an hour to check out."

## 90-Minute Waits

Despite 90-minute waits to check out of Cameron Station on a recent Saturday, few customers were complaining.

"You can see why they're patient," said Sidney Powers, a commissary officer, referring to the cut-rate prices of the nearly 7,000 items, including gourmet merchandise, that Cameron Station stocks. At any one time, Powers said, commissaries feature "wise buys" — 50 or 60 items at prices 28 percent below the already cut-rate commissary price.

Critics point out that one-quarter of commissary shoppers — and the system's most vocal supporters — are retirees, many of whom could afford to do without the privilege. Congressional studies show that more than 140,000 retirees are "double dipper" who earn military pensions while holding second-career federal jobs.

"These guys are making money hand over fist," said Lieberman, noting that their average retirement age is 42 and their average rank is lieutenant colonel.

According to Leo Rothenberg, director of the Federation of State Tax Administrators, state and local governments lose millions of dollars each year in potential tax revenue because commissary transactions are exempt from state and local sales and excise taxes. Last year, commissaries recorded domestic sales of \$2.6 billion.

Statistics compiled by the Army Times show that domestic military consumption of tobacco and alcohol, which are tax-exempt in commissaries, is 93 percent higher than the national average. For example, Cameron Station shoppers can save about 50 percent on a carton of cigarettes.

"There's no question that cigarettes purchased at commissaries are being sold to civilians on the outside," said Rothenberg. "At some military bases, per capita consumption of cigarettes is just astronomical."

Defense Department spokesmen say that anyone caught selling merchandise is subject to criminal prosecution, military court-martial and/or loss of commissary privileges.





ABOVE IT ALL — In a parade marking the annual Bun Festival (Festival of Spirits) in Hong Kong, a girl towers over one of the floats — but just what's holding her up is not clear.

### New Bonuses, Restrictions

## China Sets Directives to Curb Families

By Jay Mathews

WUHAN, China (WP) — In a series of unusually strict directives, Chinese officials have announced bonuses for couples with no more than one child, and income and housing and promotion restrictions for families with more than two children.

The toughened sanctions apparently grew out of a Peking conference on population control in January, they reflect widespread official disquiet at the state of the economy and the difficulties of modernizing a country with 900 million mouths to feed.

The continuing reappraisal of China's economic needs has even produced a startling official admission by Peking radio that "the average amount of food grain distributed to each person in China is now less than in 1957."

Even if each married woman had two children, said a broadcast from Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province, the province's population would still increase 10 percent in the next five years — and "any improvement in people's living standards can be forgotten."

Nationally, the annual population growth has been estimated at 5 percent to 2 percent, which represents an increase of 13 to 18 million Chinese a year.

Birth control is nothing new in China. It is mentioned in a new constitution approved last year. Chinese scientists have developed an effective male oral contraceptive. And Shanghai was reported two years ago to have reduced its growth rate to only 0.6 percent through a tough system requiring every woman to report her contraceptive method to local authorities and then to wait until she was told it was her turn to have a baby.

But China's leaders have never been as blunt about their population problems as now or as willing to impose sanctions on parents seeking a third or fourth child.

Official broadcasts have even complained of local Communist Party leaders being "influenced by old customs and traditional ideas." Five members of a party committee in Guangdong were singled out for having at least five children each.

The regulations, reported in varying degrees of detail by Guangdong, Sichuan (Szechwan), Shaanxi (Shensi) and Anhui (Anhui) provinces, appear to follow a central directive. An Anhui broadcast this month said:

• A worker or official who produces three or more children will have 5 percent deducted from his family income for welfare expenses. A peasant who has a third child will have 5 percent of his work

points — annual labor shares used to determine his percentage of the harvest — deducted each year and added to the local welfare fund. The deduction will increase to 6 percent for a fourth child, and 7 percent for a fifth child.

• Couples who have more than two children will not receive ration coupons for any commodities other than rice and cotton. If the family gets into financial trouble, no subsidies will be paid.

• City-dwelling couples who have a third or additional child will get no extra housing space; if they live in the country, they will get no extra private areas for vegetable growing.

Couples who have just one child, however, will get extra money for health expenses and adult grain rations for the child. Urban couples with one child will be put at the top of the list for new housing and will receive the same living space as families with two children.

In Sichuan, any child will qualify for preferential treatment in school admissions and job assignments. Good colleges and urban jobs bring steady incomes and welfare advantages that parents can ill afford to pass up for their children. Such incentives become highly attractive, despite the Chinese reluctance to risk old age on the support of just one child.

## New Evidence Is Helping Ease the Problem of Pain

By Harold M. Schmeck Jr.

NEW YORK, May 4 (NYT) — When a U.S. nurse, home after 10 years' work with Eskimos in the Arctic, volunteered for tests of pain sensitivity in a research laboratory here, the results were astonishing.

"She had the highest pain tolerance and highest pain threshold of any individual I've ever done," said Dr. Berthold Wolff of New York University Medical Center, a pioneer in the scientific study of pain and president of the American Pain Society.

Six months later, the nurse was tested again, and her pain response was back in the normal range for U.S. women her age. No one knows why she had been so impervious to pain, or how she had changed. The only clue is that Eskimos are noted for their pain tolerance. Probably something in their social environment influenced the woman living among them.

There are many other such puzzles. Soldiers in battle are sometimes oblivious to their wounds until hours after the fighting. There are rare people who feel no pain at all, and as a result continually risk injury. Many others are in almost continual pain for reasons that are obscure.

Whether pain response is learned or innate, new evidence suggests that the brain is doing something to its own chemistry to achieve the effect. That means that the brain must have a pain-control system, and scientists all over the world are trying to find out just how it works.

**Major Problem**

Chronic pain is a major public health problem, says Dr. John Bonica of the University of Washington at Seattle, one of the major figures in U.S. efforts to understand and cope with pain. His estimate is that pain hampers and sometimes disables 50 million Americans, costing the nation \$60 billion a year for treatment and lost time.

Scientists have identified chemicals that are almost certainly a part of the brain's natural pain-control system, and have given them the group name endorphin, meaning "the morphine within," because the substances are produced naturally and appear to be the brain's own equivalents of morphine.

With the new knowledge about endorphins, many pieces of the huge puzzle that is pain may begin to fall into place. For example, it is considered likely that acupuncture works by an undetermined effect on the endorphin system.

Scientists in California and Louisiana demonstrated recently that people whose pain was being treated by electrical stimulation to a part of the brain were apparently getting relief through increased production of endorphins. Related

studies showed that endorphins put directly into the brain can relieve pain.

But the more the endorphins are studied, the more complex and various their functions seem to be. Recent research indicates they may be linked not only to pain and emotion, but also to some of the body's important hormonal functions, to natural responses to shock and even to the sexual urge.

One study has shown that endorphins rise in proportion to the body's production of stress-generated hormones. Perhaps the brain tries to turn off its pain signals while it mobilizes the body to fight or flee the cause of stress.

### In the Head

Studies by Dr. Lars Terenius of Sweden's Uppsala University appear to have shown differences in endorphin levels between persons of differing pain sensitivity. He has also observed differences between patients suffering from pain that stems from a specific organic cause and those in whom the symptoms

were judged mainly psychological. The latter were found to have higher levels of endorphins in their spinal fluid than the organic-pain patients.

The first two known endorphins were discovered five years ago by Dr. Hans Kosterlitz and Dr. John Hughes of University of Aberdeen. They called the two chemicals enkephalins — substances found in the head. Other scientists soon found additional related chemicals, and the term endorphin emerged.

It soon became apparent that the endorphins had close links to other, long-known body substances. There is some evidence suggesting that a body chemical called Substance P may be the chemical that actually registers the sensation of pain in the brain, and that one or more of the endorphins may be the modulators that counteract the pain signal from Substance P.

Enkephalins and endorphins are made up of chemical subunits called amino acids, which are lined up in sequence like the letters in a

word, the sequence differing for each endorphin.

Scientists were surprised to find the entire sequence of amino acids spelling out beta endorphin and methionine enkephalin were duplicated — letter-for-letter, so to speak — within a larger chemical that had been known for a decade. It was a substance produced by the pituitary gland and named beta lipotropin by its discoverer, Dr. C.H. Li of the University of California at San Francisco. Its function was a mystery. The fact that it incorporates endorphins within its structure accentuates the puzzle.

### Possible Clue

The endorphins have opened up a new concept of the brain's ability to regulate its own perceptions. But the field of research is still young, and there are far more questions than answers.

The distribution of the sites in the brain where endorphins act may be a clue to the nature of heroin addiction, Dr. Kosterlitz

said recently. Perhaps, he suggested, knowledge of the endorphins will allow the development of pain-relieving drugs that act in a wholly new way — by causing more copious release and prolonged action of the brain's natural opiates.

Dr. Kosterlitz said that he is not hopeful about the unrealized goal of producing pain-relieving opiates that are not addictive. Studies have shown that the endorphins themselves can be dependence-forming. And Dr. Kosterlitz noted that all the new ideas in the field are in the realm of basic research, still far from practical application to medicine.

Next week, the National Institutes of Health will hold an international seminar on the nature and functions of the growing list of endorphinlike chemicals that function in the human nervous system.

Dr. Jeffery Barker, one of the conference organizers, said that he knows of nine major meetings on the subject scheduled here and abroad this year, an indication of the growing importance of this fertile field of research.

## Mao Comeback Seen as Mausoleum Opens

By Fox Butterfield

HONG KONG, May 4 (NYT) — China reopened Mao Tse-tung's mausoleum yesterday for the first time since December, the latest in a recent series of signs that the late chairman is making something of a posthumous comeback.

The white marble memorial hall, in the middle of Peking's Tian An Men Square, had been closed for what Chinese officials had termed "repairs," leading to speculation that it might be made into a joint resting place for several of China's ranking Communist party leaders. Mao had been downgraded from deity to mere mortal last fall, but in the last month, evidently in keeping with Peking's clampdown on greater freedom of expression, veiled attacks against him have stopped.

The first visitors yesterday were Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's former ruler, who lives in exile in Peking, and Malaysian Premier Datuk Hussein Onn, who is visiting China. Chinese officials said that the mausoleum would remain open to the public.

Prince Sihanouk had reportedly asked to pay his respects to Mao when he arrived in Peking from Phnom Penh just before the Cam-

bodian city fell to Vietnamese troops on Jan. 7. But at the time he was told that his request was "inconvenient."

The Chinese news agency, in announcing the prince's visit to the mausoleum, did not say why the building had been closed or what repairs had actually been carried out. For several months the large sign above the main door had been covered up.

The memorial hall was built by 700,000 volunteers in six months of hurried work and opened Sept. 9, 1977, the first anniversary of Mao's death.

Diplomatic sources in Peking say that they believe a recent series of high-level Communist party meetings in the capital decided that the indirect criticism of Mao had gone

too far, particularly after a bitter attack against him in March by Lu Dingyi, a former head of the party's propaganda department.

Mr. Lu, who was purged by Mao during the Cultural Revolution, traced China's economic and political troubles back to Mao's mistakes in the disastrous Great Leap Forward in 1959.

China's leaders may have feared that such views were in part responsible for the increase of wall posters and demonstrations demanding more democracy in China but which the regime sensed had turned against it.

However, Mao is not likely to regain his former godlike status. That increasingly seems to be reserved for another dead figure, Premier Chou En-lai.

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## Photography Scene

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en returned here to shown at an exhibition. The only previous occasion on which the drawings of the human body have been publicly displayed was in London in 1977. The queen lent them for exhibition in the Palazzo Vecchio from May 6 to September in the city's major art event of the season.

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Page 9

# SEC Blocks Trading In Brascan Shares

By Isadore Barmash

NEW YORK, May 4 (NYT) — The Securities and Exchange Commission yesterday suspended trading for 10 days in the securities of Brascan Ltd., the Canadian holding company that is trying to take over W. Woolworth, because of "unreliability in the financial community with respect to the status of recent transactions in the securities of Brascan." The order is effective until May 12.

In a separate development, Edward Gibbons, Woolworth chairman, disclosed that the giant retailer, which has opposed the bid, authorized an investment manager to "explore tentatively" the possibility of getting more money or Woolworth's shareholders if the transaction materialized.

The implication was that Woolworth would obtain another bidder that might top Brascan's offer of 35 a share. Mr. Gibbons, however, said that he could not comment directly on a statement by an executive of Kidder, Peabody & Co. earlier this week at a public hearing of the South Carolina Securities Commission that he had been authorized to find another interested bidder for Woolworth.

In a second negative development for Brascan, a U.S. District Court here lifted yesterday a temporary restraining order issued Tuesday barring Edger Equities Ltd., a Canadian investment company, from completing the purchase of 6.6 million Brascan shares made on Monday and Tuesday. The injunction had been sought by Brascan.

The judge earlier declared that he was "concerned" about Edger Equities' announcement at 5 p.m. Monday, after buying 3.3 million Brascan shares, that it would not buy any more and then the next day purchasing another 3.3 million shares.

The court decided to lift the temporary restraining order after hearing arguments of the New York and American Stock Exchanges that an injunction against Edger's purchases of the Brascan shares would create severe problems for the markets and for those who had sold them.

The SEC's trading suspension will overlap the May 10 public hearing on Brascan's purchase of Woolworth scheduled by the New York State attorney general's office.

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Maurice Hope

Tappen Soper

## PEOPLE IN BUSINESS

Maurice Hope has been named a director by Credit Lyonnais and advisor to the bank's president, specializing in planning and orientation of the bank's branches and subsidiaries.

Thomas O'Reese has been elected director of the legal department of the pharmaceutical and chemical division of C.M. Industries.

Compugraphic Europe has appointed Peter Straessle, formerly with Burroughs-Redacron, as its managing director based in Paris.

Michel Coussens, formerly chairman of Schlegel Corp. in Brussels, has been named general manager in Europe of Hydro-Air International, a subsidiary of Hydro-Air Engineering.

Blue Bell Europe has named Robert McConnell, previously president of Blue Bell Canada, as president, succeeding Richard Klingner who leaves Brussels to take up a post with Deloitte Haskins & Sells in New York.

Aerospace's Socata subsidiary has named Pierre Gaudier president, replacing Jean Soisson who has resigned for personal reasons.

Occidental of Libya has named John Brading, currently managing director of Occidental International Oil in London, as managing director.

Inter Maritime Bank in Geneva has named Howard Podolski, recently retired president of the Bank of New York, to the board of directors and Frederick Rockey, formerly vice president and general manager of First National Bank of Chicago in Switzerland, as general manager.

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## M-1 Growth May Prompt Fed Action

By James L. Rowe Jr.

NEW YORK, May 4 (WP) — The rapid growth in the U.S. money supply and business loan demand in the latest reporting week prompted speculation that the Federal Reserve will again take steps soon to raise interest rates to slow money growth and the economy.

Late yesterday, actions by the central bank suggested to analysts that it wants to boost key interest rates to about 10 1/2 percent from 10 1/4 percent.

Fed officials cautioned earlier this week that the sudden tightening in monetary policy last Friday and Monday — which came after Fed chairman William Miller had publicly resisted pressure from the administration to do just that — did not represent a real tightening at all.

Officials said the steps were taken to assuage foreign and domestic money markets and convince money traders that the Fed would not let the money supply explode. Fed sources said they do not think money growth will be excessive, increasing inflation, and said the central bank is convinced that the economy is slowing nicely under current policy.

Government sources also said the Fed's action in the securities market of draining reserves yesterday should not necessarily be interpreted as further tightening.

The Fed got out its clamps for the first time in months late last week, boosting its target rate on federal funds, reserves banks lend one another, from 10 percent (about where they had been since early November) to 10 1/4 percent.

If the central bank continues its actions in the money markets, it may soon have to take the more dramatic step of raising the discount rate charged member banks to borrow from it. The rate is 9 1/2 percent.

Because the rate is so much lower than the open market rates, bank are stepping up their borrowing from the Fed to take advantage of the differential. Such borrowings rose \$1.05 billion in the week ended May 2 from \$851 million the week before.

In a related development, Citibank today raised its prime rate to 11 1/4 from 11 1/8 percent, putting all major banks at that level.

The Fed said late yesterday that the M-1 money supply — currency in circulation and checking accounts — grew \$500 million in the week ended April 25. For the past four weeks, M-1 has been growing at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 14.1 percent, far exceeding the central bank's target of 4 to 8 percent. However, over the first quarter, M-1 grew at a rate of only 3.1 percent a year.

The Fed also reported that its holdings of marketable U.S. government securities for foreign official and international accounts fell \$2.05 billion in the May 2 week to \$83.9 billion. Such holdings have fallen \$4.17 billion during the past four weeks and were off \$1.28 billion from a year ago.

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\$2,037,000 Last Year

## Norton Simon's Chief Top-Paid Executive

NEW YORK, May 4 (AP) — David Mahoney, chairman of Norton Simon Inc., was the highest paid U.S. executive last year with salary and other compensation totaling \$2,037,000, equaling about \$39,173 and change weekly, Business Week reports in its latest issue.

It said Mr. Mahoney's salary and bonus income came to \$917,000, while gains from stock options or from the exercise of stock appreciation rights added \$1.12 million. Stock appreciation rights are payments that reflect the appreciation of a company's stock price. They are granted in lieu of exercising stock options.

International Harvester Chairman Second

Trailing Mr. Mahoney in the compensation rankings was Archie McCordell, president of International Harvester. Mr. McCordell was recruited from Xerox in 1977 and earned a \$1.5-million bonus on his arrival at the farm-machinery and truck maker. Two-thirds of the bonus was paid in 1978, boosting his total for the year to \$1,907,000.

United Technologies' chairman Harry Gray ranked third on the list with salary and bonuses of \$712,000 and other compensation of \$971,000 for a total of \$1,683,000.

The two top executives of Boeing held the fourth and fifth posts. Chairman T.A. Wilson's compensation came to \$1,227,000, while president M.T. Stampers totaled \$1,215,000.

A total of 13 executives received over \$1 million last year, according to the magazine's survey of 410 executives from 156 companies.

## Prices Decline Sharply Amid Active NYSE Trade

From Agency Dispatches

NEW YORK, May 4 — New York Stock Exchange prices closed sharply and broadly lower today on fears of credit tightening by the Federal Reserve.

The Dow Jones industrial average dropped 10.05 to 847.54 while declining issues outnumbered advances 1,055 to 353. Volume was little changed at 30.63 million shares compared with 30.87 million.

Fairchild Camera rose after its board rejected an unsolicited merger proposal from Gould Inc. Fairchild also reported higher first quarter earnings.

In other news, MGIC Investment Corp. said it offered to redeem any and all of its 5-percent convertible subordinated debentures due Dec. 15, 1993, at a price of \$720 net to the seller per \$1,000 principal amount of debentures, in cash, plus accrued interest.

Ryder System raised its quarterly dividend by 5 cents to 25 cents and declared a 3-percent stock dividend.

Among companies raising quarterly dividends were Johns-Manville by three cents to 48 cents, Sterling Drug to 21 cents from 19.25 cents, Tri-American to four cents from three and Turner Construction to 30 cents from 45 cents.

American Stock Exchange prices were lower with the index off 1.60 to 182.55.

On the Chicago Board of Trade, wheat was off 1/4 to 1 1/4 cents; corn up 3/4 to 1 1/4; oats up 1/4 to 3/4; and soybeans off 1/4 to 1 1/4 cents.

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## Outlays Seen Up 16% by U.S. Firms Durable Goods Sector To Show Largest Rise

NEW YORK, May 4 (Reuters) — U.S. business this year is planning to increase capital spending to \$177.9 billion, up 16 percent from last year's spending and the sharp yearly increase since 1966, according to a McGraw-Hill survey.

"If 1979 capital spending gains are realized, spending will be the fastest growing sector of the U.S. economy," observed Eric Herr, McGraw-Hill's chief economist.

The survey found that business views the economic climate more positively than it did last autumn. If a recession develops, however, "business will have abandoned caution at precisely the wrong time, precipitating a sharper adjustment," Mr. Herr said.

After adjustment for inflation, the spending increase is estimated at 7 percent.

The durable goods sector will post the most significant increase, with planned outlays up 23 percent, "almost twice as rapid as expected last fall," Mr. Herr noted.

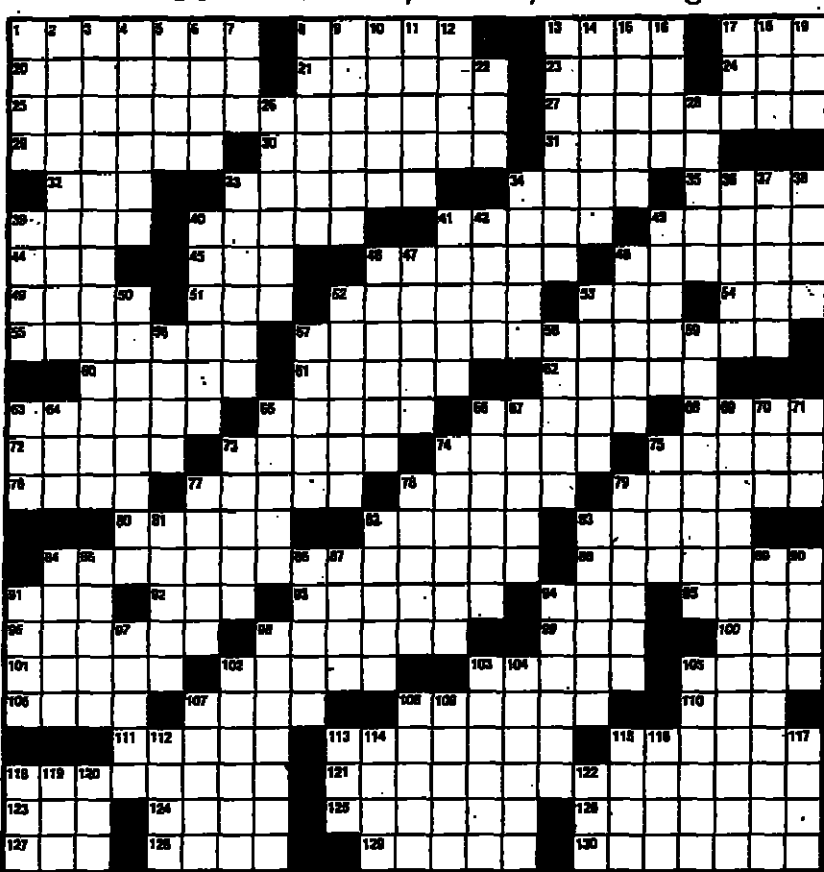
In the aerospace industry, which has just introduced a new generation of aircraft



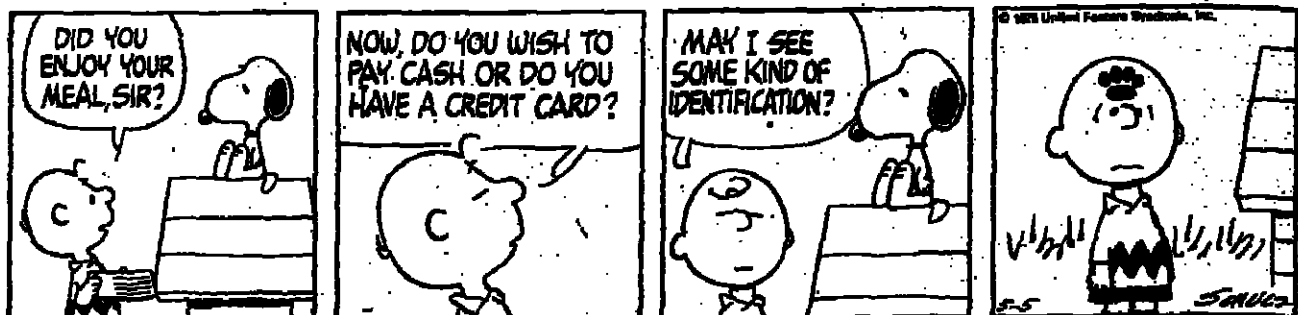
## CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Edited By Eugene T. Moleska

Good Mixers By Anthony B. Canning



PEANUTS



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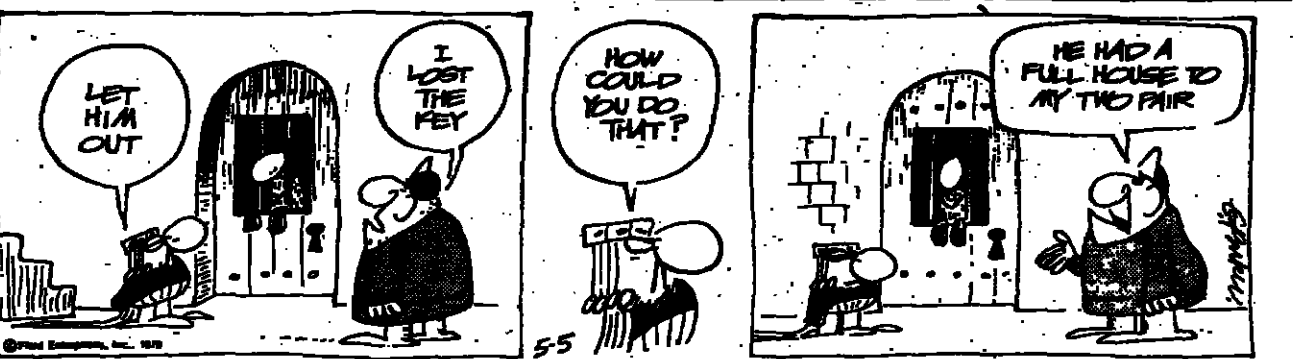
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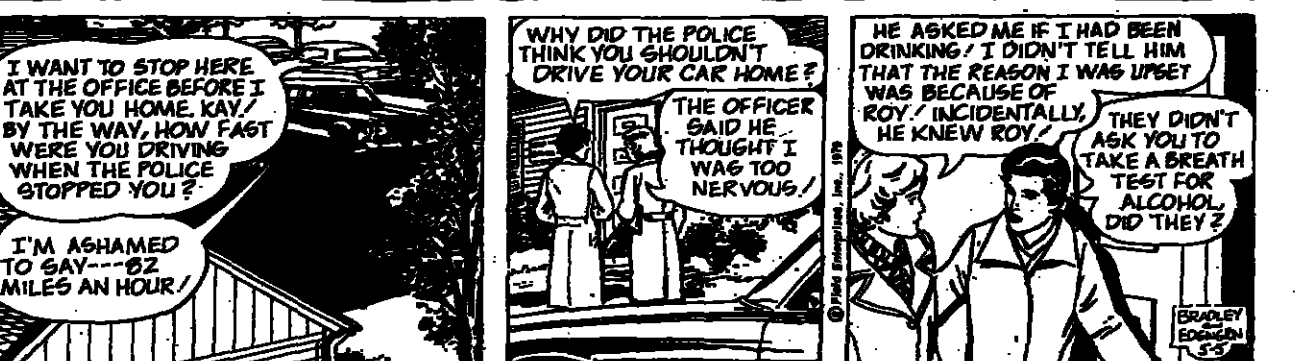
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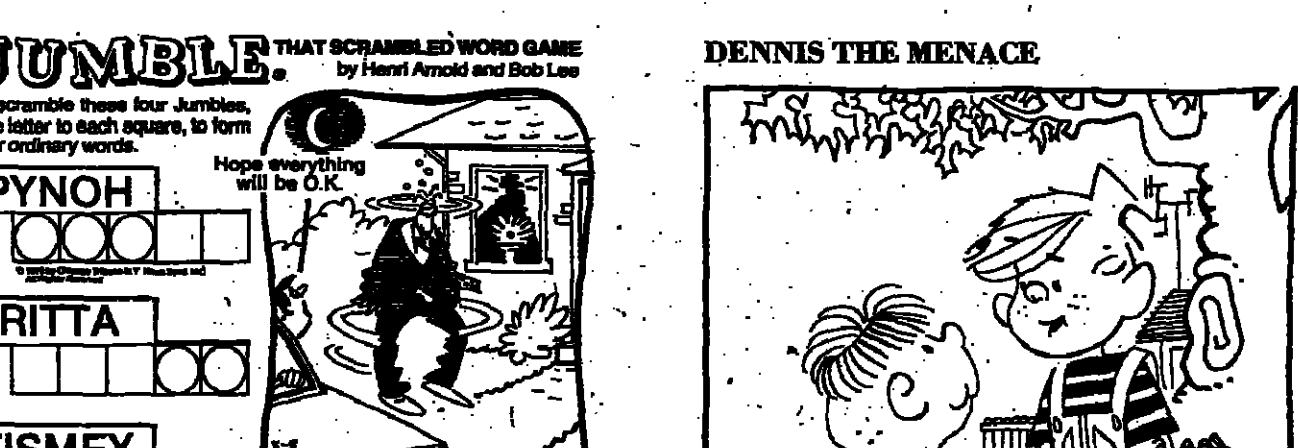
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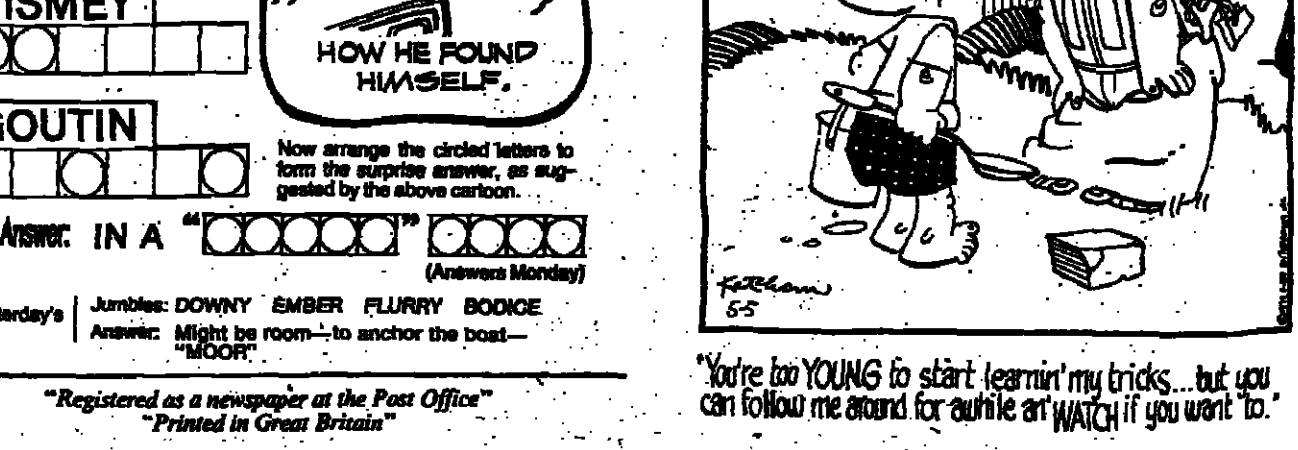
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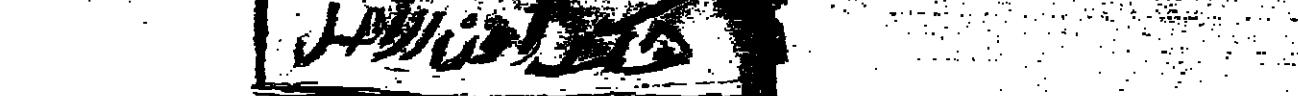
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## Mediterranean Pollution

This chart, based on the last complete survey of the area, in 1974, was released last week by the OECD. Recent evidence indicates that Mediterranean coastal pollution by domestic sewage and industrial waste continues to worsen.

